

The Philanthropist

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor.

We are verily galled concerning our brother's state, therefore is this distress come upon us.

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WHOLE NO. 93.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
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POETRY.

For the Philanthropist.

The lines below are predicated upon the authority of the following account as narrated to the author by a passenger on board the vessel on which the circumstances occurred. The Sarah, Captain Baker, sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, in the Autumn of 1830, bound for New Orleans, with a cargo of slaves amounting to between five and six hundred. On their passage out, the ship foundered on the Bahama Banks. After repeated but fruitless attempts for several days to get her off the bar, a tempest suddenly rose and drove them to sea. The hurricane raged with increased violence until it was utterly impossible to manage the vessel, and she was abandoned to the fury of the storm; and their peril growing more imminent, all prospect that the ship could much longer sustain the blast, was given up, and all hopes of life fled. At this awful juncture, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who was the owner of 12 slaves then on board whom he had brought for the shambles of New Orleans, seeing death stare him in the face, betook himself to prayer, and called upon his slaves to join him in supplicating the Throne of Grace that they might be rescued from the "devouring flood."—To pray to that God whom he had mocked, and whose judgements he had provoked, to save him and his slaves from instant death, that he might sell them to linger out a miserable death under the whip of the Louisiana planter! At length the storm abated, the vessel righted, and this cargo of human chatties was landed at New Orleans and placed in the market for sale, after a voyage of 7 weeks of extreme distress; the slaves being allowed to a bare morsel of bread and a half pint of water a day. The Christian minister sold his dozen slaves, (some of whom were members and class-leaders in his Church,) pocketed the money and returned to his pastoral charge!!

The Slave Ship Sarah.

'Twas morn—to gild the orient,
The sun his rising splendour lent;
And thence emerging from the deep,
Shone lurid on the prison keep.
Where slaves lay in iron shackles lay,
Dreading all night the coming day;
For many a grief-wrought moan and sigh,
Proclaim the hour of parting night.
All trembling low, in grief and fear,
They list the turnkey's steps to hear;
For the disastrous hour draws near,
When sundering ties—attachments dear,
The trafficker in souls shall come
To part them from their friends—their home,
And bear them to a foreign land,
To meet the whip and seething brand.
He comes—ah! who can paint the grief
That struggles in them for relief,
As slow, and pensive to the quay
They take their tedious and obscure way.
With features stamped with wild distress,
With looks that more than words express,
And anguish unexpressed,
They sigh a last, and sad farewell!
The land breeze wafts them from the shore,
Which they shall never visit more!
The hills are fading from their view,
Where late they bade their friends adieu.
Here, where were born their youthful loves,
Imagination fondly roves.
Here fancy paints with lively hues,
A weeping wife, a husband true,
A mother, frantic with wild woe,
Her infant child forced to forego.
A lover's moans of torn despair,
Poured out upon the midnight air;
Then sink their souls in solemn gloom,
Pressing in their coming doom.
Though here oppression's fetters lay,
Their bodies crushed, their spirits broke,
Still with attachment to the last,
Clings to that spot and binds them fast.
Where childhood's sportive days were past,
And all their young affections cast;
Oft will they sigh and weep to see
The land of their nativity.
'Tis past—another destiny,
Far worse than this, if worse can be,
Awaits them now; a tyranny
Marked deep with blood and cruelty.
Serenely now the vessel rides
Upon the gently rolling tides;
And nought the festive mirth to check,
Save now and then, a plaintive sigh
Bursts from the stifled mid-deck,
To bear a captive's pray'r on high,
Or tell the hour of death is nigh,
To set the shackled sufferer free,
To triumph in eternity.
Thus unconcerned, day after day,
They bask in their watery way;
And feast and drink, and dance, and play,
Till Bacchus yields to Morpheus' sway,
And darkness curtains with its screen
The wassail rout and fest obscene.
No danger threatened; none they feel,
The helmsman slumbers at the wheel,
Lulled into false security,
The watchman cautions the spathy.
The ship at random left to sail,
With all her canvass to the gale,
Strikes on Bahama's sandy banks.
The crew, around, start up in fright,

And blundering in the gloom of night,
Confusedly seek their wonted ranks.
Five days they toil incessantly,
To wear the vessel to the sea.
But all their efforts to regain
The open channel, proved in vain.
The sixth, the skies grow black with clouds,
The tempest howls along the shores,
The billows heave on either hand,
And drive the vessel from the strand.
Now closing in on every side,
The tempest sweeps with awful sway;
And dashing white with foam a spray,
High o'er their heads, the mountain tide,
Its terrors showed in dread array;
The lightnings flash a sheet of fire—
The thunder peals in volleys dire—
And waves on waves resistless sweep
The ummann'd decks, and in the deep,
Beneath the hoarse resounding surge
The shatter'd bark full often merge.
The masts are gone, the sails are rent,
The bulkheads stove—the bulwarks bent;
On every side the waves find vent,
Through scuttles broke, and hatches bent.
In this dread moment, when the knell
Of death was sounding in their ears,
And hope was lost, bound in the spell
That gave them to unwonted fears,
A minister, so claim'd to be,
Of meekness, and simplicity,
Had then on board twelve negro slaves,
Confined in chains like felon knaves;
He call'd them to the lower deck,
And bade them kneel upon the wreck
And pray to Him who rules the storm,
To save them with an out-stretched arm;
And all their crimes and sins forgive,
And stay his wrath, and bid them live—
For some of these were wont to pray,
Part of his flock in former day,
But there was one—no noble soul,
That scorn'd to yield to his control;
That view'd with horror, and disgust,
This impious man, accounted just,
Who left his pastoral charge for lust,
And trampled Christians in the dust!
He pray'd—but not for lengthened life,
So fraught with ill, with woes so rife.
He pray'd that death might give relief
To captives laden down with grief.
He pray'd—the waves might set them free
From galling chains and slavery;
Three days and nights with awful rage
The elements a warfare wage;
The tempest ceased—a calm at last,
Spread o'er the deep and hush'd the blast,
The seamen rigg'd a "jury-mast,"
And on their destin'd voyage past,
Meantime the captives, bound in gyres,
Half famished, deprecate their lives.
At length the ship in port arrives,
Where all their wounds must bleed afresh,
For parents, children, husbands, wives,
Are to the shambles drove like brutes;
And sold and parted as best suits
The purchasers of human flesh.
But where's the penitential priest?
Has he his christian slaves released?
Ah no! he has forgot the hour
He trembled at Jehovah's power;
When guilt-struck conscience fell a prey
To contrition and dismay;
And ghastly Terror's dread menace,
And Death itself staid in his face.
He has forgot the fearful day
He call'd upon these slaves to pray,
That an offended God might save
Their bodies from a wat'ry grave.
For lo! 'tis withered with grief and fear,
He leads them to the auctioneer;
Then hands in pocket stroke away,
Nor deigned regard, nor heed to pay
To sighs that burst, or tears that ran,
As thus the cries strain from his breast:
"A first-rate slave—who bids for him?
Robust, and sound in joint and limb,
Who bids? Can't dwell—an excellent slave—
Religious too—no worthless knave!
Five hundred dollars! shall I buy?
A Methodist—won't run away—
A first-rate singer—will you buy?
Twelve hundred dollars is not high;
Strike quick—a moment, and I'm done—
'A thousand dollars'—going—gone—
A female slave of blooming age,
Is ushered next upon the stage,
Who wants a Quadroon slave for life?
She's almost white—would make a wife,
Fine, handsome, young—will any bid?
See for yourselves—there's nothing hid—
A fine house servant you will grant;
Or courtesan if such you want,
These passed the jargon, loose and vile;
And all the Negroes sold the while;
Then with an execrable smile,
Disclosing treachery and guile,
Well suited to a demon's wile,
The Preacher grasp'd his ill-got gain,
And hid him to his church domain.
Americans profess that all men are born free,
They practice that two and a half millions are born slaves;
Abolitionists will not cease importuning High Heaven,
While a single slave groans beneath the oppressor's scourge,
Their doctrines not calculated to excite insurrection,
Except among the pale-faced aristocrats.
There is no security of liberty to any class of men,
Unless it be admitted that all men are born free and equal.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Slavery not of Divine Original.

Mr. Editor:
Having lately attended a debate between Messrs. Blanchard and Pinney on the slave question, I was not a little surprised to observe how earnestly the latter contended that slavery is sanctioned by the Bible. If this be true, then of course slavery is right; otherwise the Bible is wrong. But if the Bible be wrong, it could not have been derived from God; or else the conclusion follows, that God himself is wrong.
How did Mr. Pinney make his reasoning appear plausible? By simply substituting the word *slave* for *servant*, and ingeniously leading his hearers to take for granted that they mean the same thing. Now we are informed upon authority to be depended on, that there is 20 word in the Hebrew language which signifies *slave* or *servant*. The word is found but once in the Old Testament, in the English translation, and there the word *slave* is put in italics, to show that there was no word answering to it in the original. It occurs in Jer. ii. 14, "Is Israel a servant? Is he a home-born slave? Why is he spoiled?" The word is found once in the New Testament; and as this was translated from the Greek language, it may probably correspond with the original. In what connection is it found? Why it stands in the catalogue given concerning the merchandise of the great whore of Babylon: "her merchandise," we are told, consisted among other things, "in sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men." Rev. xviii. 13. This seems to imply that a slave is a man whose soul is held in bondage by another; for he who deals in slaves, purchases and sells the souls of men. Man was made an article of merchandise, we are informed, by the greatest master of wickedness that we have any account of in all the oracles of God.
What kind of a being is a slave, according to the authoritative definitions of our own country? Answer, "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but which must belong to his master." Louisiana Code, Art. 3.
"Slaves shall be deemed, taken, reputed and adjudged to be chatties personal in the hands of their masters and possessors, to all intents and purposes whatever." Laws of South Carolina. Brevard's Digest, 329, See Jay's Inquiry, p. 128.
Now from these definitions it is plain that a slave is held and treated as having no personal rights; his happiness, in life and limb, is unprotected by law, further than as an injury to his person might impair the property of his master. "He can do nothing, possess nothing, but which must belong to his master." Of course, he cannot possess his own body, soul or limbs; he cannot possess his own wife or children; and "can do nothing"—can neither exercise his understanding, nor conscience, nor affections, in prayer, or praise, or any thing else, except so far as his master may please to dictate and allow.
Now we boldly aver, without fear of successful contradiction, that this abomination has no countenance whatever, from any passage to be found any where, either in the Old or the New Testament.
There is perhaps no relation of human life more frequently mentioned and referred to in the Bible, than the relation of master and servant; but he must be a very superficial reader who cannot perceive that this relation, as sanctioned and established by the Almighty, always involves mutual obligations; and their personal rights of the servant are protected by the same law, which secures and guarantees the rights of the master.
"Slavery and the slave-trade, are positively forbidden in these words, 'He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.' Exodus xxi. 16. This was enacted in the law of Moses, that the kidnapper, whether he sold the slave to another, or kept him as his own property, should be put to death for his crime. Does this imply that in the estimation of God, slave-holding is no sin? The apostle Paul classes man-stealers with sodomites, liars, and perjured persons, and he tells us the law is made for them, and not for righteous men. 1 Tim. i. 10. But why is man-stealing treated so seriously, in the same book which contains laws regulating the duty of servants to their masters? Because, to steal a man is to reduce him to involuntary servitude, and to assume absolute authority over his body and soul; whereas, the servitude which our Creator sanctioned was voluntary; and the law secured to the servant "that which was just and equal." Were not the slaves of America originally stolen from Africa? Did we as a nation steal them, or do we hold the stolen "slaves and souls of men still in our hand?" Then, according to the law of Moses, this nation "shall surely be put to death."
In the chapter from which we quoted, there are several laws concerning servants; one of which is, "If a man smite out his man servant's tooth, or his maid-servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake," verse 27. Thus we see how strictly the law guarded every servant from oppression. If the laws of our country were so altered as to require that every man bound to servitude should go free, when abused, even to the loss of his tooth, how different would Southern slavery be from what it is at the present time! I leave this question to you.
We read of no runaway slaves among the Israelites, and as Abraham had several hundred servants, and had none but himself and Isaac to guard them, they surely might have made their escape had they been so disposed. And as they did not, the demonstration is clear, that their servitude was perfectly voluntary. The surrounding heathens had slaves who were often disposed to run away, (for slavery is a heathenish practice, to say the best of it,) but when they did run away, the Israelites were forbidden to send the fugitive back to his master. "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose where he liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." Deut. xxi. 16, 17. They were forbidden to "deliver him unto his master," even though the master or some of his slave-hunters should come into the land of Israel in pursuit of the run-away. God's people were bound by the high au-

thority of their gracious and Almighty Sovereign, to protect all within their borders from the horrors of slavery. If slavery were right, would not God himself be a slaveholder? He has abundance of servants, but no slaves; and to those who refuse to be His servants, and choose rather to be slaves to the devil, He says, "Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry; behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty; behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed; behold, my servants shall say for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit." Isa. 65. 13, 14. Is it a common thing for the three millions of black people in the South to "sing for joy of heart," on account of the abundance secured to them, of every thing to 'eat' and 'drink,' that they may never be 'hungry' or 'thirsty'? Why is it that the servants of God are in a condition so much better than theirs? It is because the servants of God are not slaves. Moses was God's servant, and was faithful in all his house. Heb. iii. 5. "Whereas Moses treated as a slave? David also was God's servant, and could say with exultation, "The Lord hath pleasure in the prosperity of his servant." Ps. xxi. 27. "What pleasure has a slaveholder in the prosperity of his slave, except to keep him in a fit condition to be used as his property? The same pleasure that he has in the prosperity of his hogs."
The Lord Jesus says, "If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be: if any man serve me, him will my Father honor," John xii. 26. Is it common for a slaveholder to say, where I am, there shall my slaves be—and then will my father honor! Who will have the assurance to say that the Lord Jesus Christ was ever a slaveholder? Yet he had many servants. Whence it follows, that servants and slaves are people in a very different condition. And let those who imagine that the Almighty Father is a slaveholder, turn to Isaiah 48 and 49, "Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my Spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.—He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment (not tyranny) in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law." Of course, it is not a law which disregards all the personal rights of the governed, and reduces them to "chatties personal, to all intents and purposes whatsoever." Let them then turn to Isaiah xlvii. 6, "It is a light thing thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth." Again, "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and exalted, and be very high. So shall he sprinkle many nations; the kings shall shut their mouths: he shall see that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider." Isa. lii. 13-15.
Now as these passages are all descriptive of the character and work of the Redeemer, and as in each of them his Father calls him his servant, it would appear, according to the view of those who pretend that servant and slave mean the same thing, that Almighty God holds the Lord Jesus Christ as his principal slave, and holds all others as slaves under him!
Christ, we know, claims to be a master, and forbids his servants to be subject to any other. "Be not called Rabbi; for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." Matt. xxiii. 8. How does this Master treat his servants? He says, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master and the servant as his lord." Matt. x. 24, 25. "His lord said unto him, well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord." Matt. xxv. 21. "Is a slave permitted to be as his master, is he put in authority as a ruler over many things?" and allowed to enter into his master's joy? If not, then the servants of Jesus Christ are not slaves; and as we are to be as our masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ, Eph. vi. 5. This is not slavery; for as they are to do it, "as unto Christ," it is to be upon the principles by which Christ governs his servants, which we have just seen. This is evident from the 9th verse, where the Apostle says, "And ye, masters, do the same things unto Christ, Eph. vi. 8. This is not slavery; for as they are to do it, "as unto Christ," it is to be upon the principles by which Christ governs his servants, which we have just seen. This is evident from the 9th verse, where the Apostle says, "And ye, masters, do the same things unto Christ, Eph. vi. 8. This is not slavery; for as they are to do it, "as unto Christ," it is to be upon the principles by which Christ governs his servants, which we have just seen. This is evident from the 9th verse, where the Apostle says, "And ye, masters, do the same things unto Christ, Eph. vi. 8. 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that color was prima facie evidence of slavery; and that the right to the service of the slave by the claimant, should be proved by such persons, as he saw proper to introduce without any regard to the laws of your own state; using the language of your own report. "That the power of legislating on this subject was conferred upon Congress," and under that legislation alone you must decide. I know too much of your character to believe that you would give countenance to such a plea. You would at once decide that no person who was disqualified by the laws of Ohio from being a witness should testify in such case. Without going further into illustration, I contend that if the Legislature of the state could control your action in one particular, it could regulate it entirely. To me it appears that the act of Congress on which you rely, is an infringement of state sovereignty, and of course unconstitutional. Let me not be told that the long acquiescence of the state under the provisions of that act proves its error of opinion. It has been induced because its operation has been confined to the colored race, that degraded and rotten-down population, against whom such strong prejudices exist. But Sir, were its provisions applied in a single instance to a free white person, who might justly owe service or labor in another state, the whole country at once, I have no doubt, would take alarm and be thrown into a flame of excitement. But Sir, why do I urge upon you the unconstitutionality of this act of Congress? You admit it in your report. You say "it is true that it may well be doubted whether Congress under the Constitution can confer any judicial power upon a state officer, and should such power be attempted to be conferred, you are of opinion such officer might at his discretion decline its exercise, and that the state of which he is an officer might by legislative enactment prohibit its exercise." If Congress had the power Constitutionally to pass the act of the 12th of February 1793 on which your report is based, then this latter opinion of yours if carried into effect would be complete nullification, if you are correct in believing that a state by legislative enactments might prohibit the exercise of a power conferred by Congress. If as the better part of your opinion is, that Congress have not the Constitutional right to confer power on a state officer, then every act of such officer by virtue of a law of Congress is oppressive, tyrannical, and unjust, because it is the exercise of power without right. Yet to this condition you seem willing to subject a person in Ohio, who has the right to claim protection from her laws; and that too in order to sustain and perpetuate slavery in other states of the Union.

(To be Continued.)

ANTI-SLAVERY.

We lay before our readers the following report of a Public Meeting in Manchester, England. We copy it from the Manchester Times of September 21, which we have just received.

PUBLIC MEETING—NEGRO SLAVERY.

The following report of an address delivered at the Friends' Meeting House on Monday evening, on the state of the negro population of the West Indies under the apprenticeship system, by Dr. Palmer, will be read with interest. The meeting at which the address was delivered was assembled by advertisement, and was very numerous and respectfully attended. Dr. Palmer was introduced by Mr. Isaac Crewdson, who informed the meeting that he was one of the special magistrates sent out by government to Jamaica, to protect the rights of the negro apprentices.

Dr. Palmer then came forward and expressed the pleasure he felt on being met by so numerous an assembly. He hailed it as an earnest that there existed in the breasts of the people of this country a warm feeling of interest in the fate of the unhappy negro; and he hailed it with the greater satisfaction because there never was a period in the history of freedom when their exertions in the cause of humanity were more needed. Before he concluded his address he believed he should be able to show them, that notwithstanding all that had been done by what was termed the emancipation act, there still existed a species of slavery as bad as that which existed before, and that it was as incumbent upon them to put an end to negro apprenticeship as ever it was to put an end to the old form of slavery. He presented himself in the capacity of a witness, or he might more properly say of a humble advocate of the suffering negro. He was desirous of placing before the meeting the results of that great measure which had cost this country so vast an amount of British treasure. With regard to his competency to be a witness, he might say that he had been an observer of slavery for twenty-two years, and that he had since the present system commenced acted in the capacity of a special magistrate up to the time of his leaving the island. He mentioned this merely to show that he had ample means of witnessing the working of the system.

Demoralizing Effects of Slavery.

With regard to slavery, it was not his intention to take up time by dwelling on the horrors of the system under its old form, but he might mention a circumstance or two to show its brutalizing effects upon the people of our own country, when accustomed to look upon it, and their feelings towards the blacks. There was one peculiar feature of slavery which it struck him had never been sufficiently dwelt upon by those who had undertaken to expose it, and this was that the most severe injuries might be committed upon the slave, and the most atrocious crimes perpetrated, and never so much as known to the public. As a proof of this, with regard to himself he might say, that he got to know more of the horrors of the old system during the twelve months which succeeded its extinction, under the emancipation act, than had come to his knowledge during the previous twenty years. To show how this occurred, he would relate a circumstance which took place a few months previous to the abolition of slavery. There were two slaves attached to an estate near his own residence, who had given the overseer some offence, and he determined upon punishing them with great severity. Aware of this the two men absconded, and went down to their master, to whom they related what had happened, and he gave them a letter to the overseer. The overseer however disregarded the letter, and ordered them into confinement. They again absconded and went to their master for protection, telling him that knowing the murderous punishment to which they were to be subjected, they dared not return unless he accompanied them. Instead of doing so he carried them before a local magistrate, who ordered them either six or twelve lashes. This punishment was inflicted, and had their punishment ended here, it would have been an act of mercy; but they were detained till the overseer sent for them, when they were placed in the stocks for several days. On the Monday morning they were brought out for slaughter—they were laid down in the usual manner—the one receiving 446 lashes, and the other 440 lashes. Their flesh was literally cut to pieces. They were then placed in confinement in order that their case might not become known; (for bad as was public feeling such a case as this might possibly have got the overseer into trouble, and kept three or four months before they recovered; their bodies were in such a state of putrefaction from the horrible wounds inflicted that it was sickening to go near the place where they were closely confined.) He (Dr. Palmer) was at that time the medical attendant upon that estate, and he was in the habit of going to within a few rods of the place where these men were confined once or twice a week, but such was the secrecy observed respecting them that he never heard of the case till nearly eighteen months afterwards, when it was brought to the light only in consequence of other cruelties practised by the same overseer. This showed how little of the horrors of the present system could be known. The slave never dared reveal the secret of the prison-house. It might be almost death to him if he failed in obtaining legal redress, and he therefore found it better to submit silently to the outrage of the overseer than run the chance of being subjected to his vengeance after a vain appeal to justice. It was a secrecy which these things could be done he imagined, that had led to the statements made in this country by persons

returning from the slave colonies, that slavery was not so bad as had been represented. Many of these statements had been made by officers of the army and navy. These persons were gentlemen to whom the slave owners were all hospitality and kindness. They had been treated well, and might have spoken according to their impressions; for such a case as that he had related could escape his (Dr. P.'s) observation, how easily might the punishment of the slaves escape the eyes of a visitor.—After relating an instance of the demoralizing effects of slavery upon the minds of Europeans, Dr. Palmer said he had sufficiently shown them the character of slavery as it was, and he would proceed to show how parliament by the enactment of 1833 had succeeded in putting an end to the evil.

Working of the Apprenticeship System.

To show the position of England in reference to slavery he would suppose a case. He would suppose a man of rather loose moral character who had been in business, and in the habit of receiving stolen goods. [He might mention here that the slave owners only considered themselves receivers, whilst they accused the people of England of being the stealers of slaves.] Suppose this man had some one exercising authority over him in the capacity of a guardian (honourable John Bull) who had been directly implicated in the transaction by permitting this traffic, and the old gentleman at length becomes somewhat penitent and thinks of purchasing the goods for the purpose of restoring them to their owners. The receiver, so that he gets the money, is nothing less, and accordingly strikes a bargain. Suppose then, the old gentleman in bargaining like one of two bad paymasters (the one paying before the work is done and the other never paying at all) agrees to give the remuneration before a single particle of stolen property is returned; and the other having obtained the money (but not participating in any of the old gentleman's scruples) tries to retain part of the goods in order that he may create a new title to them—which he hopes by some sort of trickery to accomplish. Now this was a true picture. The slave owners had received twenty millions of money for the freedom of the slaves, and yet slavery still existed in an aggravated form at the present time; and unless the people of England interfered and demanded what they had paid for, it would be perpetuated instead of ended it, 1840. The parliament of this country passed a law establishing the principle of abolition of slavery, but unfortunately left the carrying out of the principle to the slave owners themselves. This was a grand and fatal error. How could it be expected that men who had ever been opposed to an amelioration of the slaves' condition, would even join heartily in carrying out a law to which they were opposed? The act for carrying out that great principle was left to the local legislature; and he (Dr. P.) thought it was time for the people of England to interfere to prevent the act for which they had paid so dearly being rendered of no avail. It was for him to show by what means that was in the course of being effected.—The first of those means was by trying to render the new law more severe than the old. Strong as this assertion might seem, he was prepared to maintain, that the law regulating the apprenticeship system in Jamaica was more cruel and coercive than the old slave law itself. Out of 137 clauses of which the old law consisted, there were only two which authorized the infliction of 50 lashes; and yet under the present act, there are not less than seven clauses which allow the infliction of as many as 50. The consequence is, that whilst under the old law 30 lashes were thought by the planters themselves sufficient to maintain the discipline of slavery, under the new law 50 lashes were considered requisite to support the system of apprenticeship. Whether government in extending to them this liberty acted in good faith to the people of England, he would leave the people themselves to determine.—They had often been told that this system of apprenticeship was more severe than the old one of slavery, and he was now here to prove it. He did not mean to deny that many of the evils of the old system had been done away; there had been many of the worst features of slavery which had been abolished since the passing of the abolition bill; but in proportion as the old evils had been removed new and more oppressive ones had been established, and such as had not been before known in the colonies. There was now a system of privation as well as punishment. He had often heard of people comparing the condition of the working classes of England with that of the slaves. Those who did so little knew the system of which they were talking. Where in England did they hear of people working five days in the week without receiving in return a particle of food for their labour? In this country, if a working man disagreed with his employer, he could leave him, and seek another, but the negro could not do this, whether as a slave or an apprentice; he must remain with his master, and that too without having either food or money in return for his labour. At this time a large portion of the negro population were in want of food; and that too in a country, and in a climate where the whole earth was teeming with vegetation. During slavery there were seven working days in the week, but now there were only six, as the law had put an end to Sunday markets, and the negroes very properly abstained as much as possible from any sort of employment on that day. But the consequence of this change was, that the negro had less time to provide for his own wants as an apprentice than he had been allowed as a slave. He formerly had three days in a fortnight, but now is restricted to two days, and is even liable on a variety of pretences to be mulcted of one-half that scanty pittance of time. It was almost needless to say that this state of things had operated most ruinously on the interests and comforts of the poor negro; he was decidedly worse off with respect to the supply of common food than when in a state of slavery; and to show that this was not a partial evil, or confined to one or two districts, Dr. Palmer mentioned that the price of ground provisions throughout the island had risen nearly 300 per cent, since the abolition of slavery. The imperial act declared that the apprentice should not be required to work more than 45 hours per week in the service of his master, and that out of those 45 hours he should be allowed a certain portion of time for the cultivation of his own grounds, equal to one day in the fortnight, which had been allotted to the slave, exclusive of his market (Sunday). Now, if the planter had acted honestly, according to the instruction of the law, he would have given the apprentice every alternative Friday, along with his Saturdays; but in place of this, he pretends to give 4-12 hours per week, and does not even give this time consecutively, at the end of the week, but fritters it away at the rate of one hour per day. To talk of giving a man one hour, to walk to his ground and back, a distance of from five to ten miles, and within that hour also to cultivate his ground, observed Dr. P., is a cruel mockery. In this way the planter had been enabled to deprive the negro of his legal rights, and although representations had repeatedly been made to the local authorities and the home government, no amendment of the evil had taken place up to this hour. The planters professed to work on what they called the eight-hour system—that is, five days of eight hours each; but in reality they kept the gangs at work ten and even eleven hours per day, and they did so with impunity. Saturday was the only day left to the apprentice to provide for the wants of himself and family, and he was constantly liable to have even this single day taken from him, by sentence of a special magistrate, for any alleged deficiency of work or temporary absence. This Dr. Palmer said was one of the severest hardships which had been imposed on the negro population; it was inflicting on them a sentence of starvation. A special magistrate visits an estate—the overseer chooses to complain that the apprentices have not done a sufficient quantity of work—and on evidence of the loose character, the accommodating magistrate orders the gang to give up as many of their Saturdays, (taking them alternately) as will make up the alleged deficiency. Thus it was that the condition of the apprentice, as regards physical comforts, was decidedly worse than that of the slave; for whereas he was formerly allowed three days in a fortnight to obtain his own food, he is now mulcted of half his Saturdays, limited to one day in a fortnight. He (Dr. Palmer) could not believe that it was even the intention of the framers of the law to give penalties so unjustly imposed. He hoped and believed that Lord Stanley, in giving his official sanction to the colonial act, could not have been aware how cruel a wrong was thus inflicted on the negro population. To illustrate the manner in which the negro is thus robbed of his time, a case was here read to the meeting from a mass of evidence, which Dr. Palmer had collected and committed to writing.—The substance was that he had visited an estate in St. David's in his capacity of magistrate, where the overseer mentioned with an air of self-gratulation that the crop that season was the largest the estate had ever made. He mentioned that at the beginning of the crop he had

brought a charge of deficiency of work against the whole gang, and on that charge the special magistrate had mulcted them in eight of their Saturdays. During the progress of crop he brought a second charge of slow work and obtained a mulct of two additional Saturdays; the whole of these days had been paid off, yet the overseer now brought the gang before him (Dr. P.) upon a fresh charge of insufficient work, which he said was a fresh proof to the clearest testimony; he however withdrew it on Dr. P. hinting that it was very unlikely that he should add to the stock of forfeited Saturdays.

There were some features about this case, Dr. Palmer said, which were worthy of particular observation. As this was the largest crop the estate had ever made, we had the most satisfactory proof that the negroes had been much more industrious as apprentices than ever they had been as slaves; yet they were accused of idleness and on that charge self-evidently false, they had been deprived of one half the time allowed them by law to provide for themselves and families. For the space of five months these poor people had only been allowed ten days to seek their food, and keep up the cultivation of their provision grounds. In the same space of time during slavery, they would have been allowed thirty days, and of these they could not be deprived on any charge of neglect, whether fraudulent or well-founded. The estate where this occurred was considered the best conducted in the island. Dr. Palmer went on to say that one of the most painful features in the apprenticeship system was the treatment of the sick. The highest crime an apprentice could commit was the crime of falling sick. In slavery the sick were taken some care of, as it was the masters' interest to do so; but now they were most cruelly neglected, and were moreover subjected to continuous imprisonment. The moment an apprentice is taken ill he is locked up in what is called the Hot House, which is very frequently a cold, damp, and filthy place, with nothing but the bare ground to lay upon. Here he is confined till he recovers, and is not even supported with food by his master when so confined. Here Dr. P. mentioned that one night about 9 or 10 o'clock a young man came to his residence and complained that his sister, who had been brought to bed that morning, had been locked up in the dark with her newborn infant, by her mistress; and that this had been done from some spiteful feeling to prevent the woman's husband or friends from visiting her. Dr. P. told the man to return home and demand the key of the door, and if refused, to burst it open. He did so, and the following week the mistress had the folly to bring this young man forward in expectation of having him punished for doing what he (Dr. P.) had ordered him to do. Dr. P. here related several cases of cruelty towards sick apprentices. One upon Churston Estate, where a poor man had been suffering under an incurable disease for four years, and was unable to do any work. In August last year the overseer ordered him out to work; the man refused as he was totally incapable; he was brutally assaulted; a loaded pistol presented at him, and afterwards was confined in irons. Dr. P. fined the overseer for this conduct, and decided that the man was unfit for work and must remain unmolested. But since he (Dr. P.) returned to England he had learned that after his departure the overseer renewed his persecutions of poor Extent Kelly; by some means or other he had him sent to the house of correction, and after undergoing his sentence he had just time to reach his home when he expired. As an instance of the gross neglect to which the sick were exposed, he would mention the case of an apprentice upon an estate of Alderman Atkin's, a poor fellow about 50 years of age, who without a relative in the world was gradually wasting away with a lingering disease. During his sickness he received no medical attendance, nor any sort of cure; he was fed almost entirely by the charity of his fellow apprentices. He lived in a miserable shed, totally neglected; the blow dies infected some ulcers on his body, and maggots were burrowing in his flesh. In this horrible condition he died without a creature being near to know when he breathed his last, and when the dead body was discovered it was found partly devoured by rats.—After mentioning another case of cruelty, of a similarly revolting character, Dr. Palmer proceeded to speak of the treatment of mothers with families. Whatever might be the opinion of the effects of the new system upon others, it could not be denied that it had inflicted grievous injuries upon the parents of families. It would be recollected that before the abolition act the planter had a direct interest in the rearing of children. That interest had now ceased. The rearing of young children was no longer a profitable investment; in fact it had become to the planter a source of constant annoyance. Dr. P. said it was difficult to understand why, but it was an undoubted fact that the planters had shown a greater disposition to oppress the breeding women than any other class of apprentices. They deprived them of all assistance towards the support of the children, either in health or sickness; and notwithstanding the mothers were burdened with the entire maintenance of their large families, the planters insisted on their doing an equal amount of work with those of the gang who have no such burthens. Mothers of three children were formerly exempt from labour altogether, and received some assistance towards the maintenance of their offspring; but now they not only received no aid, but are compelled to resume their labour in the field, and work an equal number of hours with the most able and the strongest of the gang. Dr. P. mentioned several cases of women who had been for fifteen or twenty years exempted from labour under the slave law, and had been therefore enjoying comparative happiness and freedom; but who, since this new system commenced, have been ruthlessly dragged out to work in their old days for their unfeeling masters. He then remarked that women with large families were constantly liable to be torn from their families on any frivolous charge and sent to the House of Correction for punishment. Amongst other cases he gave the following as a specimen.—On an estate belonging to Sir Alexander Grant, a woman, who had been exempted from all labour in slavery on account of having seven children, was compelled to turn out under the new law. When the attorney of the estate, Mr. Joseph Gordon, was serving out the annual clothing to the apprentices, the overseer of the estate said that this woman deserved no clothing, as she would do no work. The woman replied she did the work she was ordered, and what more did he want? Mr. Gordon pronounced this to be insolence, and ordered her to be put in the dungeon for that night, and next morning he sent her in charge of a driver with a letter to Mr. Jones, the special magistrate, who, without any other evidence than Mr. Gordon's letter, sentenced her to the House of Correction with tread mill and hard labour for fourteen days, so that in addition to the cruel punishment she had to undergo, she had the misery of being separated from her young family, who were thus totally deprived of a mother's care for the space of fourteen days.—Dr. Palmer next adverted to the severe punishments which females were subjected to in the workhouses. Formerly women in the family way, or mothers of young children, were never sent to the workhouse, but now the very men who were appointed by this government and paid by the people of England to protect the negro were in the constant habit of committing these outrages. No reservation was made either as to age or condition. Several instances had occurred of the lives of infants being sacrificed by the cruelties practised on the mothers. The most respectable domestics were liable to workhouse punishment for the most trivial offences; their heads were shaved—they were put to hard labour, on the public roads, chained together by the neck—and they were put to work on tread mills of such a construction as made the severest instruments of torture. Added to this the disgusting and brutal practice of flogging women, though strictly forbidden by law, was in many of the workhouses, carried to the most frightful extent. He had narrated the case of a woman who applied to him on Sunday morning, and exhibited her back so shockingly lacerated that she was unable to wear her clothes. This case led Dr. P. to make a full exposure of the scandalous practice through the public papers, and this exposure led to an official investigation, where it was found that the practice of flogging women in this cruel manner had been most extensively and unremittedly carried on. Some legal proceedings were instituted which ended in one of the drivers being convicted and sentenced by the court to assist in the flogging; but the white men in charge of the workhouses, under whose orders the drivers flogged the women, escaped without even a reprimand.—Dr. Palmer then spoke of the conduct of the special magistrates, whom he described as being placed in a situation of great difficulty and exposed to great temptations. The majority of those gentlemen, he declared, had become mere tools in the hands of the planters—the oppressors rather than the protectors of the helpless negro. He named several who had been sent out from this country who were of the most abandoned character; three or four

within a very short period had drunk themselves to death, and during their brief and vicious career had inflicted a vast amount of suffering on the unfortunate apprentices. One of these persons boasted at a large dinner party that he had averaged 200 lashes per week in his sentences on apprentices. The unfeeling wretch exercised his reign of terror about four months, when death from drinking put an end to his ferocious proceedings.—Dr. Palmer went on to mention that one gentleman, a Major Baines, who ranks particularly high in the estimation of the planters, went one Sunday to the church of St. Thomas in the East, where the rector, the Rev. Stephen Hope Cook, preached a sermon; and Major Baines, after hearing this sermon, proceeded to the rector's house in the rector's carriage, where before dinner was brought in, an unfortunate female apprentice, the washerwoman, was brought before the major and was charged with some frivolous offence, and was forthwith sentenced to fourteen days' hard labour in the house of correction. The woman cried bitterly and entreated for mercy, but in vain. The medical attendant of the workhouse finding the poor woman was far advanced in pregnancy directed that she should not be put on the treadmill, nor be sent to labour in the penal gang. This transaction was afterwards inserted in one of the papers with some strong comments, but Major Baines, it was reported, declared he would repeat the same act whenever he thought proper, and he defied any one to bring him to account for it. "If," said Dr. Palmer, "Major Baines considers his conduct in this instance so perfectly innocent and proper, he cannot blame me for laying it before a British audience as a specimen of his peculiar notions of a magistrate's duties."

The Remedy.

In conclusion, Dr. Palmer said he now came to the question; what remedial measures could be adopted to arrest these crying evils? The English nation had paid twenty millions of money for the abolition of slavery, yet many of the worst features of slavery were still in active operation; and what was still worse the British public were actually paying 70,000 a year for the perpetration of these outrages by an unprincipled and subservient special magistracy! This was a state of things, said Dr. P., that ought not and must not continue. He had no doubt that Lord Glenelg had written to Sir Lionel Smith to have many of these outrages put down; but even if all the tread-mills in the island were broken up, and the murderous cuts were cut to pieces, there would be little hope of permanent relief to the unfortunate negro.—The planters would speedily devise new modes of torture, and as fast as one gap was discovered and stopped, they would find the means of breaking through a dozen fresh ones; nothing but coercion of the most stringent character would satisfy the planter, whilst any modification of a system of bondage continued. It was obvious that there was but one real and effectual remedy, and that was the immediate and total abolition of the system. On the last of August, 1838, the non-proclamable law by law be entitled to their freedom, but the planters were now engaged in devising plans to deprive a large proportion of them of their liberty for two years longer. Serious disputes on this head might be anticipated, and the best way of cutting short all disputes on the subject would be to make the whole of the apprentice population free on that day for ever. If one strenuous effort were to be made, if the voice of the nation could be once more raised in a simultaneous demand for justice to the negro, there could be little doubt of its success. He hoped that petitions would be poured in upon both houses of parliament, and above all he anticipated the happiest results from the petitions which were about to be presented to our youthful and interesting Queen. He looked to her Majesty, and May God bless her with intense interest; a feeling which he was sure was partaken of by every one bearing the name of Englishman. She was the first Queen they had had on the throne for 120 years, and it would be peculiarly her province to promote such an act of justice and humanity. And if its accomplishment could be obtained as one of the first acts of her reign, it would, he was certain, be the means of her name being handed down to the latest posterity, as one of the highest ornaments of her exalted station. He only hoped that in her majesty's opening speech to the next parliament, she might be induced to respond to the warm entreaties of her female subjects by the inserting of one short paragraph recommending her parliament to take the most effectual measures to have simple justice done to the deeply injured negro population. Such a recommendation, he had no doubt, would produce an electrical effect on both houses of parliament, and the great object which the friends of humanity had in view would be at once accomplished.—Dr. Palmer was happy to find that the ladies of Manchester and Salford had already prepared a most excellent petition to her majesty, and which he here read to the meeting. He hoped the ladies of Manchester would emulate those of Birmingham, where 37,000 signatures had been affixed to a petition of a similar character to that, which he had just read. He warmly exhorted every lady present not only to sign it, but to induce all over whom she might have any influence to follow the laudable example.—Dr. Palmer concluded his address by thanking the meeting for the kind and patient attention with which they had honored him.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 30, 1837.

TO OUR PATRONS.

Week after next the PHILANTHROPIST will appear in an entirely new dress. It will be issued on a sheet as large as that of the Emancipator, or New York Evangelist. Three fourths of it will be printed on new type, a little larger than the present type, and much more pleasant to the eye.

The Executive Committee of the State Society have had this matter under consideration for a long time. The decision to which they have come is not a hasty one. By the arrangement now made, we shall be able to furnish a larger quantity of matter—an object highly desirable at this eventful period in our cause; to insert a report of the market price—an item of some importance to very many of our country subscribers; and to acquaint our readers with the most important events of the big world. Nearly all of our Eastern Anti-Slavery papers contain a general summary or report of current events, beside a portion of miscellaneous matter adapted to family reading. It is time that herein we should be like our neighbors, to which we are sure there can be no objection, for in very many instances it will save money to our subscribers by making it unnecessary for them to take an additional paper of a general character.

Another advantage.—The Philanthropist in this way will be more likely to pay for itself. It is true the cost of printing and paper will be somewhat increased; but this increase, it is ascertained, will be considerably over-balanced by the increase in the amount of receipts, to be obtained by an advance of fifty cents on the present subscription price. The terms hereafter will be: \$2 50 if paid within the first six months; and \$3 00 at the end of the year. This is the price of the "Friend of Man," and will be the price of the "Liberator," when the current year closes. Of course, in view of the great advantages that will result from the contemplated arrangement, there will be a cheerful acquiescence in this small advance on the subscription price. Every one sees that the paper will make less and less demand on the state-treasury, so that in the end, only a very small portion of donations made for the general interests of the cause, will have to be applied to sustaining our periodical. Let it be understood, that we do not by this measure succeed at once in making the Philanthropist pay its way, but we greatly promote this object, and if our friends will only stand by us and put forth but a little while vigorous efforts to increase our Subscription List, we shall speedily succeed in this object. Will any leave us, because we have raised on them fifty cents? We are scarcely serious in asking this question: we know that none will. Come, friends, the Philanthropist is yours! It has struggled through many difficulties, met with many vicissitudes, and prevailed, because you have up-

held it; and now it stands a monument of the victory achieved by the patriotic zeal and inflexible resolution of your friends, over blind prejudice, sinister interest, and brute force. What say you? Shall our Subscription-list swell from 2,300 to 3,000! "3,000! why not 4,000!?" So let it be! four thousand subscribers we can have, if you will tell us. Who will make the effort—will not all?

We remember yet with delight the "Generous Response" of a "Female Abolitionist." We never doubted the power of women, but we do not think we have ever yet made an appeal directly to Anti-Slavery women. Doubtless if we had, our success would have been greater. We now make the appeal. Will you not do something for us? Do not honor us with an effort or a thought, unless you fully believe that the Philanthropist is hastening on the day, when the wretched slave-mother shall be able to clasp the infant to her bosom and call it truly her own. If you do believe this, we have said enough. A woman's heart outwits all exhortation. We are sure of your help.

PLEASE REMEMBER.—Let each Subscriber, resolve to procure at least one additional Subscriber. We should then have 4,600!

Ohio-Legislature.—The Leaven of Slavery.

It is impossible for a stranger to understand how deeply the system of slavery has pervaded by its spirit the institutions and policy of the free states. There is no question involving fundamental rights, that can be raised in any of the legislatures of the free states, without at once developing the existence of two parties, one in subjection, the other in opposition, to Southern slavery. It is really painful and humiliating to see what a majority of our citizens are ready at any moment, to array themselves against any measure which can be construed as favoring opposition to slavery. If petitioners ask for a repeal of laws oppressive in regard to our colored population, at once the strife commences between Pro-slavery and Anti-slavery, which results in the triumph of the former, and of course, the rejection of the prayer of the petitioners. If they ask, that the right of Trial by Jury be secured in all cases, where personal liberty is at stake, the answer to their prayer is determined not by a regard to the naked subject of the petition, but by a reference to southern slavery—by the result of a conflict between Slavery and Anti-slavery. Of course it is unfavorable because slavery is predominant. There is no use in trying to conceal this fact. Every day is demonstrating its truth. Some few beside abolitionists, have common sense and candor enough to perceive this thing. A bill was recently brought up in the House of Representatives of this state, making townships, towns and cities, liable for damages done by mobs. A foreigner could never understand the reason for the division of sentiment and the discussion occasioned by the bill. The naked merits of the thing itself were lost sight of, in considerations of its bearings on Slavery. Here, again, Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery had to fight the battle. This is no fiction of ours: read the following extract of a letter from Charles Hammond, Esq. dated Columbus and published in his own paper. Few will accuse him of mistaking the figments of imagination for realities.

December 21.

Yesterday, in the House of Representatives, we had some unpleasant exhibitions. A bill came up, subjecting townships, towns and cities to the payment of all property damages perpetrated by mobs. It was moved to strike out townships, and upon this motion a desultory debate arose, that to an attentive and experienced observer, exhibited much more than the debaters themselves intended to exhibit—much more than they supposed was perceptible. At least, such would be my conclusion, from the channels in which the debate ran.

This was not exactly a Whig and Vanocut matter.—It was the abolitionist and the slavery advocate. The bill was opposed in a sneaking kind of undercut by men of both parties. I shall not name them. They did not come out and say, we hold ourselves bound to sustain slavery, and to follow, as near as we can, the wishes of slave holders. But they said enough to nail them for contempt and disregard, when the people come to pass direct upon this question, to which they very soon must come. The advocates of the bill sustained it by the same kind of skulking undercut. They attempted to show that it was necessary without reference to abolitionism; and they attempted this in a feeble temporising spirit, altogether creditable. My heart sickened as I listened to their speciousing preparations.

We hope no abolitionist merits this keen rebuke.—We know at least, that temporizing and covert action constitutes no part of abolitionism. Let our friends speak out boldly, and not fear to point even to CINCINNATI, and to the CINCINNATI MOB, as affording conclusive reasons why such a bill as that proposed should be passed. Let our enemies skulk: they have an infamous cause to maintain. But every where and at all times, let abolitionists unfurl the ensign of Abolitionism, and stand sternly beneath its folds.

Abolition and Party-Politics.

The editor of the Gazette, writing from Columbus, makes the following observations.

"Like many other vexations that press upon us, this abolition question must be met. For a time it may be evaded—but it must be met; and I would just as soon meet it to day as at any other time. Abolitionism, seeking to form a public opinion favorable to their own views, by printed and oral arguments, I am willing to hear. I am decidedly against attempting to silence them by illegal violence. But abolitionism mixed up with party politics is another thing. When abolitionists come upon a party election and say, 'we are Whigs and want to support Whig candidates, but we must question them, what are their opinions upon this topic and that topic?' And we must have answers conformable to our views, or we will not support Whig candidates." Then I say, away with you! I support no Whig cause that is trammelled by any such proposition. If men, calling themselves Whigs, seek to use the political lever of Whigism, to forward that Whigism should fall rather than have it compromise a single point to obtain such allies. I care not if the abolition lever is attempted to be used by abolitionists, or by their opponents. I will have none of it, from either side, in our elections, or in our legislative halls. At every political peril, I would seek the whole of it; and I would set an especial mark of reprobation upon any one, who should have the presumption to attempt the using of one side or the other of abolitionism for political effect.

Abolitionists are not a political party, and we trust they never will be. They never have used the abolition-lever for party-effect and they never will. But one thing they will do—they will magnify fundamental principles of government far above mere modes of policy. Of course, their determination is, to ascertain who among the Whigs and who among Democrats are favorable or hostile to fundamental principles. If all the candidates be favorable, they will then vote according to the old land marks, according to their party politics. But, if the Whig should be hostile and the Democrat favorable, or the Democrat hostile and the Whig favorable, true abolitionists of all parties, will temporarily discard all party-politics, and give their votes to that man, without any reference to his party-creed, who will give his voice for fundamental principles. Our own course in relation to questioning candidates, is clear. We would question a candidate on no points but those, that might legitimately come up for discussion and disposal in the sphere of his legislative duties. If a candidate for the State Legislature, we would ask his opinion concerning the right of petition, because it might become necessary to move the

legislature to remonstrate against some arbitrary act of Congress in relation to this essential right. We would demand his opinion concerning the annexation of Texas, because we might wish to urge the Legislature to remonstrate against this measure. We would demand his opinion on the laws in relation to blocks and mulattoes, and the right of jury trial, because we intended to invoke legislation on these subjects. Would there be any harm in all this? Would it be inconsistent? True, it might in its results be anti-Whigism, or anti-Van Burenism, but would it be unpatriotic or unrepentant? We should be acting precisely as freemen ought to act—freemen who feel that it is of far more importance to maintain unimpaired the spirit of the Constitution, and to no justice, than simply to have a good currency. But we would not question candidates, as to what they think about the immediate Abolition of Southern Slavery—for the simple reason, that this is a question which can never be legitimately involved in legislation in the free states, or the national councils. So far, abolition and political action should be kept apart. But all the other points noticed, as well as slavery, and the slave-trade, in the District of Columbia and the territories, are matters within the compass of national and state official action. And therefore, we should feel obligated by our own principles; and think it no just cause of offence to the majority of Whigism or Van Burenism, to question candidates of both parties, concerning their sentiments on these great subjects. The two parties compromise nothing in striving to gain our alliance, because they would only be pledging themselves to the support of those fundamental principles on which all just civil government rests. They would compromise nothing, unless indeed they be willing to avow, that they are enemies to the right of trial by jury, opposed to "equal and exact justice to all men," in favor of abrogating the right of petition, freedom, of speech, and of the press, and willing to countenance the admission of Texas into our Union. If Whigism or Van Burenism disavow such sentiments and feelings neither has to compromise a single point in relation to state affairs, "to gain our alliance."

We cannot but think that the editor of the Gazette must have labored under some misapprehension with regard to the political action of abolitionists, when he wrote the above.

Congress—Texas—Abolition—The Right of Petition.

The war has commenced in Congress. On December 12th in the House, an immense number of Abolition and Texas petitions were presented, chiefly from New England, Pennsylvania and Ohio. John Quincy Adams is in his place, and from what we can gather, seems to be the great champion of the right of petition. In presenting a Texas memorial, he moved that it, and all other memorials and petitions having the same object, which were presented by him and his colleague at the extra session be referred to a select committee, with instruction to report thereon.

Mr. Howard moved that they be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which he was chairman. Some attempt being made at debate, the Speaker decided that it was out of order, and the subject must lay over till the next day.

Mr. Adams next presented an abolition petition, and moved that it, and all petitions of a similar character presented by himself and colleagues during the extra session, be referred to the committee on the District of Columbia. Mr. Wise rose and moved to lay the motion for reference on the table; and the ayes and nays being called, it prevailed by a vote of 135 to 70. So it seems that there are nearly two to one in the House in favor of evading the question, and in fact, though not formally, of trampling on the right of petition. Mr. Adams presented several other petitions of the same character, one after another, making the same motion in regard to each, but they all met with the same fate. At length, Mr. Lawler, of Alabama, raised the question of reception, and the speaker having put it to the House, "shall the petition be received?" it was carried by a vote of Ayes 143, Nays 60. So more than two thirds of the House appear to be opposed to denying the right of petition openly and formally. Nevertheless, of what avail is this, while they insidiously refuse to listen to our petitions, or even refer them for future consideration. The House is yet in bondage to slave-holding influence. The breath of a slaveholder is mighty enough to wither the spirit of a representative of free institutions.

Mr. Wise besought Mr. Adams to present all the petitions in his possession at once, but thank Heaven, there is one man in that degraded House, whose inflexible soul can be turned aside from the path of honorable duty neither by the "air," nor whirlwind of Southern men. Mr. Adams answered quietly that he did not wish to trouble the gentleman from Virginia, but he felt it his duty to move the reference to the Committee on the District of Columbia, in each case. He then presented a petition for the abolition of slavery in the territories, which made Mr. Wise furious. "He hoped," he cried, "that the vote of the House upon this would lay all such petitions on the table now and forever!" This petition was signed like the rest, as follows: "We, the undersigned, do hereby petition the Congress of the United States, for the abolition of slavery in the territories."

The next day the several motions of Mr. Adams and Howard came up for decision. Mr. Adams delivered what a correspondent of the Baltimore Transcript called "one of the most furious tirades against the Republic of Texas, Slavery," &c. which, translated into the language of freemen, means, that he made a speech which flashed much light on the horrors of slavery, and the sinister schemes of slave-holding politicians. Of course the excitement produced among these gentlemen was, as usual, excessive and indecent, giving birth to much disorder. At last, says a correspondent of the Baltimore Chronicle, "he dared to bring in the Alton tragedy, under the terms of murder and arson." "He dared!" Unpardonable offence, that a freeman should call murder and arson by their right names, among gentlemen slaveholders! A member from Illinois objected to his proceeding; of course he shrunk from having the nakedness of his state discovered. The speaker called Mr. Adams to order, as he had done numberless times before. Mr. Adams was indignant, the objection was at length withdrawn, and he proceeded in his speech. So much for the right of petition, the liberty of speech, and the spirit of freedom in the House.

In the Senate we are disgusted with the same kind of bullying, and exhibitions of the spirit of Lynch-law as in the House. December 18th, a memorial was presented by Mr. Wall of New Jersey, against the annexation of Texas. Mr. Preston moved to lay it on the table, and now mark—he denounced bitterly the introduction of such papers, but said, it was his intention to bring before the Senate a measure having for its object the annexation of Texas to the United States! That is, "we slaveholders, have resolved that Texas shall be admitted, and therefore, you, pedlars, shopkeepers, mechanics and laborers, of the north, have no right to say one word against it. What you got your bread by the sweat of your brow, dare to protest against the schemes of us, gentlemen of the South, the high spirited owners and drivers

of men!" Of course, Mr. Preston's motion prevailed. Mr. Wall then presented an abolition petition. Mr. Grundy moved that it be laid on the table, but this did not suit Mr. Preston. He raised the question of reception, which gave rise to a most animated debate. Clay and Davis stood forth in support of the right of petition, and thought the best way to lay excitement would be to refer the petition to the Committee on the District of Columbia. Calhoun, Preston, Strange, and Buchanan, talked on the injustice that would be done to Southern rights, by such a measure. The correspondent of the Baltimore Transcript says, that Mr. Preston's manner and words were especially significant. We understand this to mean, that Mr. Preston threatened what marvelous and fearful things the South would do, if the North did not behave herself most obsequiously. Mr. King said, that abolition feeling at the North was most industriously fanned by certain political knaves and demagogues, and was made use of for party purposes. According to the Transcript, Mr. Clay, in reply to some observation from Mr. Calhoun, poured forth one of his glowing bursts of eloquence, on the stability of our free institutions. The conclusion of the matter is given in the following paragraph from the Transcript.

"Mr. Calhoun had insisted upon the absurdity of hanging over to consideration and argument, any petitions having for their object such fanatical schemes as those which characterize the abolition memorials. He thought they deserved no more notice than a petition to abolish the Christian religion, or to burn the Northern factories. Mr. Clay in reply, asserted that the whole spirit of our Government was based upon argument, and that he held in low estimation any institutions that could not stand such a test. It was here he alluded in a most impressive manner to a remark made to him at the commencement of the late war by James Madison, who replied to some important wishes made by him that diplomatic notes should cease, and action should be used—by gravely saying, 'you forget, Mr. Clay, that our Government is founded on reason.' The whole speech was one of the finest ever made by the great orator."

Mr. Grundy's motion to lay the petition on the table was finally carried—26 ayes—20 noes.

Where is Mr. Webster? We do not notice that any one has mentioned him as having taken part in this debate. Ah! he is talked of as a candidate for the Presidency. So is Henry Clay, but Henry Clay disdains silence when the right of petition is assailed. Is the Texas question a "debateable question?" Would to Heaven that the prediction of the clear sighted editor of the Cincinnati Gazette might prove true. But we ask any one, after reading this account of the treatment of Texas memorials, the violence and sensitiveness of slaveholders and the avowal of Mr. Preston, whether he can believe, that there is no danger of Texas being admitted! For ourself we must confess, that our apprehensions on this subject are greater than ever.

Roll in the petitions. Let us act while we may, and may be that the God of nations may acquit us of all share in bringing on that ruin, which threatens to rend our nation and sweep away our liberties.

Letter from James G. Birney.

New York, Dec. 12, 1837.

Dear Brother Bailey—I have just finished reading the editorial article in the Philanthropist of the 5th inst. addressed to your "subscribers;"—and find from it, that your friends were beginning to despond, and your enemies to exult, at the anticipation that the Philanthropist would soon have to be discontinued. That some honest-hearted abolitionists—too much predisposed, though, I apprehend, to be alarmed at small difficulties in conducting a large concern—might have thought of such a thing, I am not surprised. But how any one now—after the Press has been trodden into the dust in Illinois—after its intrepid defenders have been set upon, and shot at, and slain—when Liberty lies bleeding in the streets—how any one I say, should under these circumstances think of withdrawing a veteran from the ranks seems most strange.

Such a thing would be a disgrace to the abolitionists of Ohio—and would prove to me that abolitionism there is so weak it is almost ready to expire. That the Philanthropist has not 5,000 subscribers, instead of 2,300, is any thing but honorable to our friends there. In Ohio there cannot, I think, be less than 20,000 adult abolitionists. They are not, to be sure, among the richest classes of the citizens—neither are they among the poor. Now, suppose, the whole number were to contribute annually to the support of the cause 25 cents each, (which they can do) this would make the sum of \$5,000. Half the whole number (10,000) can pay 50 cents more—5,000 of these can pay \$1.00 more—2,500 \$2.00 more each—1,000, \$5.00—500 \$10. each—250 \$20.—250 \$40.—250 \$60. and 250 \$100. each. Now, sir, this sum ought to be raised in Ohio, for the support and progress of the cause; if they cherished for it the regard it deserves. And it could be raised, too, without impairing the comforts or encroaching on the means of any abolitionist. But, what do they raise in Ohio! Almost nothing, considering the wealth and means of abolitionists. The American Society has done a great deal for Ohio in the way of agents, compared with the mere pittance she has raised. The year before last, Ohio paid scarcely any part of her pledge of \$3,000. At the last anniversary, what had not been redeemed was wiped off—and she is now beginning to stagger under a pledge of the same amount this year. What can the wealthy abolitionists of Ohio be thinking about! There has not been an instance, so far as I can now remember, of a single one of them, (I speak now of men worth \$20, 30, 40, 50, or even 100 thousand dollars) who has subscribed in any one year, more than one hundred dollars. Just look at the difference between Massachusetts and Ohio! Last year Massachusetts pledged \$5,000, she paid in between 7 and \$8,000. Ohio pledged \$3,000 and paid scarcely any of it. Massachusetts this year pledges \$10,000, and doubtless, will pay every dollar of it, and more too.

I do not say that there are not men in Ohio who do all they can; yes, many of them, and noble women too, that contribute cheerfully a good portion of what God gives them. But you may go through the State, and find wealthy men rusting in the offices of the abolition societies, who seem to think their names are all that they are called on to give. I hope the A. S. Societies of Ohio, will take this matter into consideration, and turn out, at least from the offices, all the drones, whether rich or poor. They will do better, and carry on the cause better without them altogether. In conclusion, as to the Philanthropist, I know not an intelligent abolitionist here who is not in favor of its continuance, and who does not look on it as one of the best and ablest advocates of the cause.

The Pulpit in Cincinnati.

After what we stated in a former number concerning the pulpit in Cincinnati in relation to Mr. Lovejoy's death, we feel bound to say, that the Rev. Mr. Cook, pastor of the Enon Baptist church, on the Sabbath after the reception of the melancholy news, alluded in a very forcible way to the Alton outrages, both in his prayer and sermon. We were not aware of this, when we made the former statement.

Union and Abolitionists, Now and Forever, "One and Inseparable."

After all these slaveholders have no intention of cutting their company. We never did believe they would be mad enough to dissolve the Union, and more and more we are confirmed in this belief. Behold, how Gen. Hayne loves the Union!

"The dinner to Gen. HAYNE in Nashville, was a very brilliant affair, and went off with great spirit. More than three hundred persons sat down to the table. To a toast by the committee of arrangements, complimentary to the State and to himself, Gen. Hayne responded, says the Nashville Banner, in a speech of more than an hour's length, delivered in his happiest style, and concluded by proposing the following—

"THE WEST AND THE SOUTH identified in interests,—one in sentiment and feeling—one in their devotion to liberty, the Constitution and the Union,—and destined to be one in the bonds of a social and commercial union."

"Those whom God has thus joined together, let no man put asunder."—Lexington Intelligencer.

Not exactly "one in sentiment and feeling" yet, but we hope we shall be, if the South will only stay married long enough for us to convert her.

Look further at the subjoined extracts.

"SOUTHERN CONVENTION.—We thought that Messrs. McDuffie & Co. were carrying the joke too far, and it will be seen below that others will think with us. We are willing, nay, anxious, to enter heartily into any plan that holds out a reasonable prospect of increasing Southern prosperity, provided this plan has nothing in it of unnecessary hostility to the welfare of any other portion of the Union. We are not, however, of those who would 'bite their nose off to spite their face,' and therefore we have disapproved every vindictive and unpatriotic appeal and declaration against the North which the sectionists who appear most anxious for commercial divorce have made. If the Southern Convention had been called on the broad basis of Southern good, without reference to our brethren of any other division of our country, we venture to say it would have been differently attended, and that no Southern State would have been unrepresented. As it was not convened on this unexceptionable ground, but avowedly for the purpose of inflicting retaliatory punishment on our Northern brethren for imaginary injuries, we are not surprised that the wide limits of our whole country, not confined to this state or that, should keep aloof from a sectional proceeding so apparently reckless of loosening the ties which bind us to 'gether as one people.'—Newbern, N. C. Spectator."

"Mr. McDuffie pronounces Mr. Calhoun's divorce affair 'a wretched system,' and Judge Clayton says, 'it will not take in Georgia.' If neither had said so, the facts they assert would have been no less evident, but we are glad to see that even associates in occasional heresy are not perpetual yoke-fellows in political corruption or error.—Duff Green, the Altonist, who tries to make the old women and children of the South tremble in their beds, not at real danger, but by the conjurations of his own mercenary brain, will feel cast-fallen when he finds that he was premature in insinuating that the chiefs of his obsolete, ridiculous heresy would support Mr. Calhoun's preposterous advocacy of the purse and sword system."—Id.

A Good Evidence.

A friend writes from New Lisbon, in this State,—

"The best evidence of the progress of the principles of rectitude on this subject, (abolitionism,) I have witnessed in this section of the State, is the increased regard for our colored population."

This is evidence of the best sort. It is precisely this benevolence towards the colored people, that distinguishes abolitionism from all that spurious kind of anti-slavery feeling, which has so often been claimed for the people of the North. An acute observer, a distinguished citizen of Ohio, (not an abolitionist,) remarked to us in conversation sometime ago, that what used to be called anti-slavery feeling in Ohio, was in fact, anti-slaveholder feeling. It did not so much regard the wrong of slavery and the sufferings of the slaves, as the invidious prerogative of the slaveholder to get his work done without paying for it. Of course such a feeling never sought to ameliorate the condition of the free colored man, by the extinction of prejudice and the repeal of oppressive laws. No, this kind of anti-slavery feeling harmonized well with prejudice against color, and never blushed with shame or gloved with indignation at the degradation of the colored man, by christianian republicans.

There can be no real abolitionism, without regard for the interests of our colored population. Reader, have you this regard? If so, sign promptly, and circulate bravely the petition for the repeal of oppressive laws, and for the right of trial by jury. Your colored neighbor justly claims this at your hands.

Western Messenger.

The editor of the Western Messenger, (an interesting monthly periodical, devoted to religion and literature, published at Louisville,) thinks Weld's Bible argument, "a very unsound argument, to prove a very certain and self-evident truth; namely, that the Bible does not encourage or countenance slavery." He thinks it a "wrong way" to meet slaveholders, by attempting to prove that slavery, properly so called, did not exist among the Jews. The true answer, he says, "to those who bring this fact to justify the continuance of our present system of slavery, is that 'Moses for the hardness of their hearts' suffered them to retain this institution, but in the beginning it was not so." He quotes John and Calmet, remarking that "these learned men, who examined the subject without any bias, are more likely to be right than the abolitionists, who examine it in order to find a reply to their opponents." Now we must profess ourselves very sceptical with regard to the authority of Calmet. We have yet to learn that he ever examined this subject with that critical attention its importance deserved. And as to the representations of John, as given in the "Messenger," we are very sure that, wherever he may have gathered his ideas of the condition of servants among the ancient Hebrews, he never gathered them from the Bible—but from the details of the Mosiac institutions.

Now, we call upon the editor of the Messenger, seeing he finds himself backed by authorities so eminent, and thinks it so likely that abolitionists are wrong, to turn to page 24 of the pamphlet, and expose the fallacy of the thirteen arguments adduced by Mr. Weld to prove, that "Persons became servants not against, BUT WITH THEIR WILLS;" or, if it should please him better, to invalidate the proofs brought to sustain the proposition, (p. 36,) that "Masters were not the PROPRIETORS of servants as their LEGAL PROPERTY." He belongs to a sect, that with just indignation proudly spurn an implicit submission to "authorities," that professes not to adhere to a doctrine or system simply because it is old, or reject it because it is new. That Abolitionists should advance "an opinion new to Biblical critics and commentators," should not startle the advocate of a "Rational Religion." True, abolitionists are few and despised and persecuted, but it may be that they are right—nay, they are more likely to be right in this matter than many Biblical critics and commentators, for the very simple reason, that with a zeal, vigilance and industry peculiarly their own, they have dedicated themselves to the investigation of the entire nature, history and bearings of slavery. We ask then the editor of the Messenger to put away his undue veneration for Calmet and John, concede that it is possible the world may grow a little wiser as it grows older, and believe for once that good may come out of Nazareth.

that even abolitionists may have got hold of a truth, which had escaped the grasp of "Biblical critics and commentators." Assuredly, whatever of industry and research may have been exhibited by John and Calmet, (and it would be presumption in us to question the fact,) every reader of Weld's argument must admit, that the industry and research of the author in his exposition to Hebrew servitude, have never been surpassed.

Monies from M. R. Robinson will be acknowledged next week.

From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

COLUMBUS, December 22.

Yesterday afternoon, the mob bill again came up, in the House of Representatives. A deep hostility to it was manifested by a majority without respect to political party. And in my opinion this hostility was manifested by thrusting under rather than by open manly opposition. At length, after it was made plain that the bill was doomed to destruction, a Mr. Smith, of Columbiana county, proposed a new Section. It ran to the following effect:

"If any person shall preach any thing, in any town or city, contrary to the wishes and opinions of the citizens and in consequence thereof, any mob shall arise, such person so preaching, shall be held responsible for all consequences."

It was amusing to witness the insignificant disparagement with which this amendment was received. And yet, in verity, it did right openly and plainly express the true grounds upon which the whole opposition to the bill was covertly conducted: When a mirror was held up, showing faces exactly according to the truth, men started from their own visions in abhorrence. Mr. Smith's proposition was run down from all quarters, with phrases of solemn indignation, and he was scolded into a submissive withdrawal, with which there was an apparent gratulatory consent on all sides.

The House adjourned (December 22,) for dinner, leaving this mob bill before the Committee of the Whole, on the motion to strike out all but the enacting clause. It is to occupy at least this afternoon. Most probably it will be laid over until the next session.

IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

Great Excitement on the Slavery Question—

Withdrawal of Southern Members.

Washington, Dec. 20th.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The SPEAKER made the fourth appointment on the Committee of Ways and Means this morning—Mr. POPE, of Kentucky, was selected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. EVERETT.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS was then made the order of the day in the House, and the unfinished business was well named the further consideration of the Petitions praying for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. The merits of the whole slave question were involved in the discussion, and the day has been in the House one of unusual excitement. Mr. SLADE has had the floor the most of the day, and coming from Vermont, where abolition grows up spontaneously with children to man hood, you can imagine the character of his petitions and his speech. To speak of it in a few words, it is the very essence of all that Thompson, Garrison, May & Co. have written and spoken on the exciting topic of Slavery.

In the very outset of his remarks he was interrupted by Mr. WISE, of Virginia, for intimating that the motion to lay Abolition memorials upon the table was the result of combination, &c. on the part of Southern members. Mr. DAWSON, of Georgia, also called him to order for the same reference, and Mr. SLADE satisfied them by disclaiming all personal feeling and all personal references in regard to the charge.

Mr. SLADE continued his remarks, and the Southern members became more and more excited. The speaker at length called him to order for wandering from his subject.

Mr. LEGARE, of South Carolina, got the floor, and asked permission to say a few words. He was under the influence of great feeling and excitement, and begged the member from Vermont not to proceed. Mr. SLADE, one of the most eloquent men in the House, was too much excited at the present moment to speak with any degree of coolness. With great ardor and justice he vindicated the South from the attack made by Mr. SLADE, and said that the homes and fire-side of the South—her dearest interests and her peace—her domestic happiness—all that she had and was—was identified with this question; and he therefore begged that the member from Vermont would desist.

Mr. SLADE refused again and again to yield the floor, except when called to order by the members of the House. Mr. DAWSON, of Georgia, twice asked permission to reply to some severe remarks made by Mr. S., but Mr. S. refused to yield the floor. Here Mr. LEGARE, much excited, moved an adjournment, although it was not then one o'clock. Mr. Legare's motion was not in order and of course was not put by the Speaker. Mr. DAWSON, of Georgia, called for the orders of the day, the further consideration of the President's message—the motion was not in order, and Mr. SLADE was again suffered to proceed.

For a half hour Mr. SLADE went on without intermission, advertising in strong language not merely upon Slavery in the District of Columbia, but in all the States.

Mr. DAWSON, Mr. WISE, & Mr. RHETT called him to order. But from the nature of the subject, which I will explain by and by, Mr. SLADE was not out of order, and was again suffered to proceed. The House at length became too hot—Mr. SLADE's remarks too personal—and the Southern members too much excited to hear him.

Mr. RHETT and Mr. WISE, at the same moment, both called him to order, and for the first time the call was in order. Mr. SLADE was reading the opinions of several distinguished men upon the merits of slavery. By a rule of the House it is not in order to read from any document, book or pamphlet without the consent of the House. The members objected, and Mr. SLADE was compelled to take his seat.

This, however, was the least exciting part of the scene. Mr. WISE, after saying that Mr. SLADE had entered into a full examination of the merits of the Slave Question, CALLED UPON THE SOUTHERN DELEGATION TO LEAVE THE HALL. "Agreed!"—"Agreed!" "Agreed!" was responded by a dozen voices, and, in company with twenty or twenty-five members from the Southern States, Mr. WISE left the Hall.

The House was here in great confusion. A half dozen members rose upon the floor, calling and being called to order. Mr. RHETT said that the Southern Delegation would meet in the District of Columbia Committee Room, at 3 o'clock.

Mr. SLADE begged permission to go on in order. Mr. McKAY, of N. C. called him to order, and the Speaker told him to take his seat. His motion "to be permitted to proceed in order" was, however, put to the House, and the yeas and nays demanded. A motion was now made to adjourn. Mr. ADAMS, of Massachusetts, demanded the yeas and nays. The House seconded the call, and the result was 106 in favor of adjournment, and 68 against it.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of S. C. at this moment appeared in the Hall, having been selected by the Southern Members in the Committee Room to request the attendance of all the members representing the interests of the South.

The House then adjourned. P. S. Mr. SLADE's petition for the Abolition of Slavery in the District was accompanied with instructions to report a bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. The Report made his remarks in order, and hence the reason why he was not called to order with success.

Uncompromising decision alone can preserve the independence of the North. The question substantially presented to Northern Representatives now, is, will you be slaves? Not one point ought to be conceded to these haughty, dictatorial Nullifiers.—Ed. Phil.

NOTICES.
The Clermont Co. Anti-Slavery Society will hold their annual meeting (for the election of officers, and other purposes,) on Friday, January 5th, 1838, in New Richmond, commencing at 11 o'clock, A. M.
All the Anti-Slavery Societies in Clermont County are requested to send delegates to the meeting.
JOHN JOLIFFE, Rec. Sec.
Batavia, O., Dec. 14, 1837.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

ANTI-SLAVERY WORKS.

For sale at the Anti-Slavery Depository, Cincinnati.

JAY'S INQUIRY: 206 pp. 12 mo. cloth. 37 1/2 ct.

An inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Societies. By William Jay, of Bedford, New York, son of the celebrated John Jay, first Chief Justice of the United States. This book is in two parts: The first contains copious extracts from the slave laws, besides being the best Manual, which is now for sale, exhibiting the odious and repulsive character of Colonization. The second part unfolds the principles of anti-slavery societies, answers objections to them, and, by historical facts and unanswerable arguments, shows their adaptation to the end in view, and the glorious consequences which must follow from their adoption. It gives much useful information, respecting St. Domingo, and the working of the British Emancipation Act.

ARCHY MOORE, price \$1 25.

The slave, or Memoirs of Archy Moore. In one volume. Second edition, revised by the author. As a mere literary work, this has scarcely an equal in the English language. It is remarkable for its perfection of style, vividness of coloring, graphic delineations of character, and the restless force with which it finds its way to the centre of the reader's heart.

It is valuable for the broad blaze of light, which it throws down into every corner of the horrid cavern of slavery. Without seeming to be aware of their existence, the author shows up, and exhibits the utter emptiness of nearly every objection against abolitionism.

A Baptist minister of Massachusetts, who is a native of Virginia, declared its descriptions to be accurate in every particular. A gentleman who was stopping at a town in New Hampshire, stated in presence of a large company, that he had resided in every slaveholding state, in the Union, and he pronounced this book a perfect picture of slavery.

CHARLES BALL. 517 pp. \$1 25.

This is a story, told by himself of a Man who lived 40 years in Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia, as a slave, under various masters, and was once in the navy, with Commodore Barry, during the late war. Containing an account of the manners and usages of the planters and slaveholders of the South, a description of the condition and treatment of the slaves, with observations upon the state of morals among the cotton planters, and the perils and sufferings of a fugitive slave, who twice escaped from the cotton country. This is a work of thrilling interest, by some considered preferable to Archy Moore.

Every abolitionist should read both of the preceding works, if he would understand how slavery, like a heavy mill stone, not only crushes the man, but grinds and mangles every fibre of his heart, while its victim lingers out a living death.

THOMPSON'S LECTURES AND DEBATES.

190 pp. 12mo. cloth. 50

Lectures of George Thompson with a full report of the discussion between him and Mr. Borthwick, the pro-slavery agent held at the royal amphitheatre, Liverpool, (Eng.) and which continued for six evenings with unabated interest. The book is enriched by an exceedingly interesting preface of more than 30 pages, by Wm. L. Garrison, giving a brief account of Mr. Thompson's labors. The whole work gives us a vivid conception of the case and completeness with which Mr. Thompson demolished the extended rampart of slavery, erected with great effort by the hired champion of the slaveholders. The speech in which he cuts up colonization is worth the price of the book.

Pledges made to the Ohio State A. S. Society.

Ms. Pleasant April 28, 1837.

SOCIETIES.

Antrim, Guernsey co.,	pd 25 00	\$25 00
Akron, pd Dr. Cole,	" 9 50	60 00
Cincinnati co.,	" 56 75	100 00
Colchester, Upper Canada,		5 00
Cleveland,		200 00
do. female,		100 00
Cincinnati,	pd 300 00	500 00
Euclid, Cuyahoga co.,	" 17 39	60 00
Fayette co.,		100 00
Granville,	pd 128 00	200 00
Georgetown, Harrison co.,	pd 100 00	100 00
Green, per J. A. McFetridge,	" 30 00	30 00
Grand River Institute,	pd 11 00	20 00
Greenfield, Highland co.,	pd 46 00	100 00
Green co.,	pd 50 00	100 00
Hartford, Licking co.,	pd 18 25	25 00
Harrisonville, Harrison co.,	" 10 00	30 00
Hudson,		100 00
Lees Run,	pd 16 37	30 00
Muskingum,	" 8 00	75 00
do. co.,	pd 192 60	300 00
Ms. Pleasant,	" 30 00	50 00
Middletown, Columbiana co.,	" 20 00	20 00
Monroe co.,	" 10 00	10 00
New Richmond,	pd 20 00	100 00
New Athens,	" 17 23	75 00
New Concord, Muskingum co.,	28 00	40 00
New Garden, Columbiana,	pd 60 00	60 00
New Lisbon,	pd 11 00	30 00
New Town, Muskingum co.,		25 00
New Petersburg,	pd 16 00	75 00
Ohio City,		100 00
Oberlin, do. female,		300 00
Reese county,	pd 87 00	300 00
Richland co.,	pd 180 00	200 00
Richhill, Muskingum co.,		30 00
Sandy Spring, Adams co.,	pd 19 25	25 00
St. Albans, Licking co.,	" 13 75	50 00
Stark county,	" 10 50	60 00
Tallmadge, portage co.,	pd 42 75	50 00
White Oak, Brown co.,	pd 32 00	50 00
Utica, Licking co.,	pd 23 00	25 00
Welch Hills, Licking co.,		20 00
Washington co.,		50 00

INDIVIDUALS.

Isaac I. Bigelow,	pd 4 00	50 00
Philemon Bliss,	"	10 00
Dr. Jesse Bailey,	"	5 00
G. W. Brown,	"	3 00
L. Biswell,	pd 10 00	20 00
Abraham Baer,	"	15 00
Wm. Boggs,	pd 5 00	5 00
A. Crothers,	"	15 00
John M'Call,	pd 5 00	5 00
Abner Clark,	pd 5 00	10 00
Moseley Clark,	" 5 00	10 00
Jacob Cook,	" 20 00	20 00
Colored People of Mount Pleasant,	" 12 00	12 00
Robert Davis,	"	10 00
Luke Dewitt,	"	10 00
Wm. Flanner per Bryant	pd 5 00	5 00
Jos. Gill,	" 25 00	50 00
E. Gould,	"	10 00
Jos. Grimes,	pd 10 00	10 00
Benj. Hockaday,	" 5 00	5 00
Robert Hockaday,	"	5 00
A. Hammond,	pd 10 00	10 00
Pinckney Lewis,	" 5 00	5 00
Isaac Lloyd,	" 4 00	5 00
John Lewis, (Warren co.)	"	5 00
M. S. McIlrath,	pd 10 00	30 00
James Maxwell, (Cadiz.)	"	5 00
John Parker,	pd 5 00	10 00
John M. Sterling,	pd 50 00	75 00
Thomas Swayne, (New Athens.)	"	5 00
John M. Scroggs,	"	3 00
Alar Scroggs,	"	5 00
C. T. Tibbitt,	"	10 00
Thos. Vincent,	"	5 00
Thomas White,	"	5 00

ANTI-SLAVERY.

The Great Commemorative Meeting at the Tabernacle.

The meeting in the Broadway Tabernacle, on Tuesday evening, November 26th, in commemoration of the martyrdom of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, was one of the deepest interest. Never before have we seen so large, so solemn and so attentive an assembly in that or any other place. Every seat, and almost every standing place was full, even to the remote corners, where but little if any thing could be heard. Thousands, it is believed, went away from the improbability of gaining even an entrance. It was also almost exclusively a New York audience, and composed of the serious and reflecting portions of our community. We never before saw a large meeting in this city so entirely of this character, or where all kept their seats so constantly to the very close of a protracted exercise.

The service were commenced at 7 o'clock, by singing the following hymn, which was read by Rev. Mr. Babin, of the Baptist Church, recently removed from this city to Syracuse, N. Y.

HYMN.
Weep not for the saint that ascends,
To partake of the joys of the sky;
Weep not for the sear that bends,
With the withering of the leaf;
Weep not for the spirit now crown'd,
With the garland of martyrdom given;
O weep not for him, he has found
His reward and his refuge in heaven.

Some appropriate selections from the Scriptures (parts of the 31st and 23d chapters of Ezekiel) were then read by Rev. George Duffield, the pastor of the Tabernacle. The introductory prayer was by Rev. Theodore Sedgewick Wright, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Frankfort Street.

The following Discourse was read by Rev. Charles K. True, of the Methodist E. Church in John Street, and sung in the most affecting and appropriate style by the choir.

DISCOURSE.

Hear what the Lord from heaven proclaims,
For all the pious dead;
Sweet is the savor of their names,
And soft their sleeping bed.
They die in Jesus, and are blest;
How kind their slumbers are!
From suffering and from sin released,
And freed from every snare.
Far from this world of toil and strife,
They're present with the Lord;
The labors of their mortal life
End in a large reward!

Then followed a brief account of the martyred Lovejoy with extracts from his letters, and parts of his "Exposition of Anti-Slavery Doctrines," which he published on the 20th of July last, for which he was repeatedly mobbed, and in defence of which he lost his life.

The funeral discourse was preached by Rev. Beriah Green, President of the Oneida Institute, Whitesboro, N. Y., from Acts vii. 54-60, the martyrdom of Stephen. The object of the preacher was to illustrate the nature of martyrdom, and to show the ground and extent of our obligation to honor those who sacrifice their lives as martyrs.

May I stand up here, said the speaker, as the interpreter of the voice which rises from the blood of our martyred brother! It speaks to us of the frightful impatience of Slavery. It cares not for complexion, state limits, Christian character, general confidence, extensive usefulness; for liberty of the press, constitutional guarantees, chartered rights, national honor, the laws of God or the hopes of the gospel. To all it presents one and the same alternative; to subvert its interests and do its bidding, or meet the heaviest evils it can inflict. Its voice has fallen with terrific effect on those who conduct the public press, and awed them into silence as to its deadly nature. It has dared to lay its hand upon the pulpit, and hushed the voices which ought to have spoke the terrors of the law. I appeal to the understanding and the heart of all who have read our deceased brother's Exposition of Anti-Slavery Principles, as read to-night, and I ask if you are not constrained by the impulse of your very nature to subscribe to their justice.

And as to the measures of abolitionists, about which so much is said, they consist solely in the exhibition of truth. Let our measures be tried by the only just standard, those eternal principles of our nature which all must admit to be true. If slavery is in fact, as we deem it, and we believe it to be, a legalized system of fraud, and murder, and adultery, might he not expose it as such? If he found it to be a sin, a deep and damning sin, might he not so declare it? If he saw it multiplying its enormities, increasing its crimes, and extending its encroachments into the territories of freedom,—

[Here a sudden outcry was made by a few lawless parasites of slavery near the door, but the leaders were instantly taken in hand by the civil authority. Many of the audience rose, but the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements assured them that there was no danger, as the city government had given him assurance that the place was fully protected and that the meeting should not be disturbed. Every sound was suddenly hushed, the people resumed their seats, and the meeting proceeded in perfect stillness to the close. It was a noble triumph of LAW. The preacher repeated—]

If he saw slavery multiplying its enormities, increasing its oppressions, and extending its encroachments into the territories of freedom, and that his fellow-citizens were asleep and indifferent to the dangers they were exposed to, and dead to the perils which were thickening around them, was it not his duty to speak out in his public capacity, and if possible to arouse the nation before it was too late? As a man, was he not at liberty to wield all his energies for this object? If any one says, No, he must deny that man is at liberty to obey the impulses of his own heart, and the dictates of his own reason, or to consecrate himself to the interests of humanity.

A single thought more on this subject. There is something manifestly vicarious in the sufferings of a martyr. He suffers for us, the blow by which he fell was aimed at us, the wrong he endured was not on his own account, but for others, the benefits of his death accrue to others. It seems to be a settled principle in the government of God, that the great interests of mankind are to be promoted by suffering. It is the same principle on which Christ died. And the apostle Paul said, We fill up what remains of Christ's sufferings, for his body, the church. That this great object was to be attained by much suffering, many of us have understood from the first. We therefore saw reputation sacrificed, the bonds of friendship broken, property sacrificed, and persons exposed to the rude hand of violence, in every form. And now, standing around our brother's blood, we recognize his vicarious influence, both in the wrongs he suffered, and the effects to be anticipated from his death. Under God, we believe it will awake this nation. It should not be forgotten, that the first martyr to the cause of human freedom in this great struggle, fell amid his own monuments. The first blood shed in this cause has been drunk up by the soil of liberty.

Let those who have aided in producing this state of public sentiment, consider their responsibility for this blood. Every man of us have contributed somewhat to it. Shall we now be told the North have nothing to do with slavery? Where did Lovejoy pour out the blood of his great and affectionate heart? The North has every thing to do with it. The North holds the key of this great Bastille. In the midst of this solemn assembly, let us pledge ourselves to the principles of righteous government.

A collection was then taken up, amounting to \$210, for Mrs. Lovejoy.

The concluding prayer was offered by Rev. Duncan Dunbar, pastor of the Baptist church in Mc Dougall-street. Scarcely have we heard such a prayer. It seemed to take up all the topics and sentiments of the occasion, in their order, and present them as one whole, before God and man, with a weight and power and pathos that was overwhelming.

The benediction was pronounced by Mr. Duffield, and the vast assembly slowly and quietly withdrew, so that by ten o'clock the doors were closed, and all was still.

The composition of the assembly, the effect produced on the public mind, all conspire to mark this meeting as an era in the history of the Anti-Slavery cause in this city. It forcibly carried our minds back through four short years to the day when a handful of despised abolitionists were

driven from Clinton Hall, by universal acclamation of the press and people, and forced to meet privately in a corner to form the New York City Anti-Slavery Society.

Contrast October, 1833, with November, 1837, and calculate the future!

From the Political Examiner.
Letter from Senator Morris to A. Campbell.
BETHLE, November 13, 1837.

Dear Sir,—The Mayville Eagle of the 1st inst. contains a letter addressed to me by "A Citizen of Kentucky," in which the writer has animadverted with much severity on a conversation which he says he has learned I had on landing at Ripley, on my way home from Washington, when I heard of the decision of Judge Reid, in Mass. county, Kentucky, in the case of the Habeas Corpus brought by a colored woman who had been abducted from this State, near the town of Ripley, and who was in confinement in the jail at Washington. I deny the right of "A Citizen of Kentucky," or any other citizen, to intermeddle with, or call me to state what private conversations I have held, or with whom, or upon what subject. Such an attempt I view as arrogant in the extreme, and as illustrative of the haughtiness of that power which seeks it; and could I so far forget myself as to notice a production of the kind purely upon its own merits, I should, in my own estimation, act a very unworthy part. As the subject matter, however, is one of general and serious consideration, and as the only conversation that I can recollect when I was at Ripley was with yourself, I address you on this subject, in order that you may make public this letter if you think fit, together with such comments thereon as you shall be deemed proper.

I shall not attempt to bandy epithets with any gentleman, nor shall the press, when it descends, as it too often does, into low and vulgar abuse, be in this manner noticed; I shall leave those who deal in this way to flourish "alone in their glory." After my landing at Ripley on my way from Washington, I went to the Hotel of Mr. Ross, where soon after I had the pleasure of seeing you. We met in the parlor, not the bar-room, and of course our conversations ought to be considered private. There was but one or two other persons besides ourselves in the room, except the landlord, who I think passed several times through it. As I remember the facts, and I shall only attempt to detail them substantially, they were as follows. I understood a colored woman who had resided some two or three years in Ohio, and probably a year in the neighborhood of Ripley, and who had conducted herself while there with great propriety, and who was deemed, reported, and believed to be free, was seized in her humble dwelling, when alone and unprotected, by a band of armed men, who without any proof, or authority whatever from any judicial officer, was clandestinely hurried across the river into the State of Kentucky, under the pretence that she was the slave of a Mr. Fox; that when taken there, Mr. Fox did not claim her; and that she was there committed to the jail of the county as a runaway slave, in order to await the given number of days, for some person to put in a claim, which if not done, she would be sold for the payment of the jail fees as a slave for life. That some of the citizens of Ripley, actuated alone by motives of justice, as we as the most commendable generosity, interfered in behalf of the woman, and caused the writ of habeas corpus to issue; that on hearing thereof, a number of the citizens of Ripley attended as witnesses, who were threatened, apparently, with violence, and one of them, on his return, when alone, was caught and actually lynched; nor was this all. After the perpetrators of this foul act, this transgression against the laws of Ohio, this violation of her sovereignty, in seizing and abducting a person the state was bound to protect, were actually in custody, and on trail before a justice of the peace in Ripley for this crime, which by our laws is one of the highest magnitude, armed citizens of Kentucky attended that trial evidently for the purpose of overawing the justice, or effecting a rescue, should those charged with the offence be committed, and nothing but the expressing on the part of the citizens of Ripley their determination to sustain the dignity of their own state, and the free and impartial execution of the laws, and arming themselves to resist force by force, secured a fair trial and the final judgment of the accused in the prison of your county. I felt, as I trust I shall ever feel, as a free citizen of Ohio; and therefore I shall never humble myself as such citizen so as to admit the right, in the remotest possibility, of any one to question me as to my particular expressions, when I believe the very sovereignty of my state is endangered either by the acts of individuals or the proceedings of other states; yet I am entirely willing to say to the citizens of my own state, and to the country at large, what I thought then, and what I think now, as to the transaction to which a "Citizen of Kentucky" has called public attention. The first solemn reflection is the arrogance of the slave holding power in their efforts to prostrate the Constitution itself, and the freedom of speech and the press, by threats and violence; have we not seen it attempt to subject the mail of the United States to the most odious inspection, and the sacred seal of private correspondence liable to be broken by the rude hand of its power?—Have we not seen it attempt to prostrate the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press? Have we not seen and deplored its power in the whirlwind of the mob, and in the infliction of disgraceful stripes upon worthy and unoffending citizens? And above all, have we not seen it trampled under foot the sacred and inherent right of petition? These questions can receive but one answer, and I regret that the occasion has arisen when, in defence of my own rights and the high duties owe the country, I feel compelled to call public attention to these important inquiries, for I never can consent for those I represent, as well as for myself, cowardly to surrender any Constitutional right.

But the letter of the Kentucky Citizen presents the slave holding power in a still more alarming and dangerous attitude. I have seen, or believe I have seen it attempt to subvert the constitutional liberty of the citizens, and to extend its influence, if not its actual existence into every State of the Union; but it has been reserved to a Citizen of Kentucky, to inform the public that it has also established a system of espionage, by which not only the private conversation of friends in hotels and other public places shall be observed and detailed, but the very machinery of the domestic fire side may be polluted by the unlawful tread; and I appeal to you, Sir, and to the unhallored leader of "A Citizen of Kentucky," does not fully prove the exercise of this power—a power which has for its object the protection of individual rights, and the establishment of the most absolute despotism; and one which the slaves of despotism itself would not permit to be exercised if they knew it existed. What other reflections follow? A person whom the State of Ohio was bound to protect from personal violence, is unlawfully seized and carried into another state, under pretence that she was a SLAVE.

When there, no man appears to claim her, but she is dealt with as a runaway slave and committed to prison. I was anxious to know, I am still so, to be correctly informed what the laws of the slaveholding states are in this particular, and I put a case hypothetically, though it may be the actual case of this woman, which I hope some one well informed on the subject will explain. A person of color who is actually free, is seized by violence in Ohio, and carried into a slaveholding state. Is he or she under such circumstances legally reputed a runaway slave, and dealt with as such; or must not such person be found in the exercise of the power of locomotion within a slave state, before such presumption can arise? If the first part of the enquiry can receive an affirmative answer, the slave holding power is far more dangerous to the country than I ever anticipated; it is above the sovereignty of the states, if not that of the Union. It will permit certain rights, but as a thing which can be seized by the owner in any place, when it can be done without a breach of the peace. I hold that if a citizen of Ohio or Kentucky should pass into the other states, and there find his animal which had estrayed, seize the animal and take it into his own state, without the violation of the right of any one citizen of the state where it was found the states are bound to permit him to do so, and of course he cannot be guilty of a crime. This is a proposition so clear that I presume it will not be denied. If then we are compelled in obedience to the slaveholding power of the country to consider, within our State, a colored person a mere chattel, I ask what becomes of our own sovereignty, and the boasted principle of our Constitution, "That all men are born equally free and independent." Sir, these reflections become matter of high duty, when such alarming doctrines are promulgated to the public, as is contained in the letter of "A Citizen of Kentucky."

When in conversation with you on this abhorred topic, I thought, and reflection has confirmed the belief, that a state which is unable to protect the person of individuals when found within its borders, from violence, has lost its sovereignty, and is unworthy the name of a free and independent State; and that between sovereign and independent nations the very act which took place near your town, though beginning in mere individual crime, yet if that crime was begun in one country and consummated in another, whose government should justify the act or make it their own—it would be by the nation whose sovereignty was thus violated be considered just cause of War, and I am well convinced that if the scene of Ripley is to be enacted over again, and those who are engaged in it to find continuance and protection in another state it will eventually lead to a nonintercourse between the states, and this in my opinion will be the most gentle and mild form it will assume; for if reports which have reached me since I was there, be true, the peaceful and quiet village of Ripley is converted into a war like town; the citizens having armed themselves to protect their persons from violence. The idea of Ohio declaring war against Kentucky is so perfectly ridiculous, comment is unnecessary. I will leave the country to judge in that particular by the whole course of my public life. I am not in the habit of indulging in expressions, such as shooting down men, on any occasion. I have always been and hope to continue and advocate for the supremacy of the laws. Although I have no recollection of hearing any such expression as shooting down Kentuckians so soon as they set foot on the Ohio side, either from myself or any other person when at Ripley, yet the remark of this letter writer on this point is not without its use. Does it not furnish evidence that he feels himself the force of that truth which establishes self preservation above the authority of human laws? And I thought then and still think that it reflects like those who lynched (a Mr. Huggins, I think his name is) a witness who had attended for the colored woman under habeas corpus, ought not to be permitted to pollute our shores, and that Mr. Huggins would have been justified, both by divine and human laws, had he have shot, if in his power, all or any of those ruffians, I care not whether they belonged to Kentucky, Ohio or any other state. But take again the case of the negro woman; her dwelling is entered by armed men when she is alone, she is violently seized and bound, with the intention of conveying her out of the state by force, if while her captors are doing this she had been able to slay any of them, would the laws of Ohio, or any other state condemn her? I trust not. And it is strange indeed that when we speak in favor of the laws of self preservation, or condemn the criminal acts of individuals, we should be charged with showing discord between the states, and making way for the dissolution of the Union. Such vagaries are the effect of a heated imagination, and not the result of sober reason.

We are told, however, that this woman is a slave, and of course owes service and labor in another state. This is a fact we cannot know in Ohio but by judicial decision; and if it is so, it does not effect the argument in the least, although I believe the act of Congress, of the 12th of February, 1793, on this subject, to be unconstitutional, and well calculated to produce collision between the states, yet while it remains unrepelled we are all equally bound by its provisions. That act declares "That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or Territories, on the northwest, or south of the Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said States, or Territories, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor and to take him only, or before any Magistrate, &c." I quote thus far only, because it is the first arrest of which I mean to speak. I have not a doubt but a just construction of this part of the act, is that the person or agent making the claim, before he can or ought to be permitted to make the arrest, should go before some competent authority and make affidavit of the claim, together with a description of the person to be arrested, and obtain the proper warrant to do so, the act of Congress only appointing him the officer to make the arrest. A contrary construction, I believe to be in derogation both of the Constitution of the United States, and the state of Ohio. Sir, let this be the guide of the slave catchers, and peace would be restored to our borders. Our citizens, I have no doubt, though they might deem the case a hard one, would sustain the law as it is, because our Government is founded in choice not force. But I am told, Sir, "That when a Senator of the United States shall so far forget what is due to himself and to the American people, when he shall so far forget that it is his duty to preserve the Constitution as it is, not as he is indebted to you, &c." As a Senator, I am responsible for my wanderings and errors to the citizens of my own state. I have no objection that any person who feels aggrieved by my conduct as such, should apply to the Legislature for the proper correction. It is to that body I am willing to account for all my official conduct, or even my private life, if deemed incompatible with the dignity of the station I hold.

If, however, I am to be assailed as a Senator, and not as a citizen, for the expression of opinion, or for words spoken to a friend in private conversation, "A Citizen of Kentucky" would be the last man in the world to whom I would apply for instruction, or whose notions of the Constitution I would adopt. I have before heard the argument that the slave holder has a right in his slave, by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, a position which I can by no means admit. The Constitution of the United States has not declared what shall, or shall not be property by the laws of the different states. The power to coin money and regulate its value, and prohibiting the states from making any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, cannot receive that construction. Property is a creature of state sovereignty alone; were it otherwise, and the doctrine true, that the slave holders right is founded in the Constitution of the United States, then indeed does slavery exist, or may exist, in all the states; for the Constitution of the United States and the laws thereof, are paramount to the Constitution and laws of any state. And I have not a doubt myself, and earnestly call the attention of the free states to this important consideration, whether the slaveholding power is not thus endeavoring, under color of the Constitution of the United States, to establish itself in every state. The foundation for the broad exercise of this power is found in the claim of the slaveholder to travel through the free states with his slave, in the character of servant or waiter. This right I deny as a citizen of Ohio. I believe that the moment a person who is held as a slave in another state, sets his foot, or breathes the air within the jurisdiction of Ohio, that instant, to use the language of another, "the chains of slavery burst from around him; he stands disenthralled, regenerated," and changed from a thing to a person, and of course is free.

If we could tolerate the existence of slavery while the master is passing through the state, could he not sell his slave within the state? Will any man suppose that the free states could thus tolerate a slave mart within their borders; or if the slave can be brought here and exist here as a slave, because his owner is travelling, can we regulate his speed, or his departure? He may sojourn amongst us as long as the children of Israel were sojourning from Egypt to Canaan; with his hundred, or his thousand slaves at his heels—make encampments for nights, for weeks, for months, or years, and be entirely beyond the power of the state. Sir, these reflections are solemn. If the slaveholding doctrine of the Constitution, be its true reading, then indeed do we vainly boast of being a free state, because we have no inherent power in ourselves to be so, but depend entirely for that blessing on the courtesy of the slaveholding power. On the important topics contained in the letter of "A Citizen of Kentucky," the people are asking for light, and light they will have, independent of all the devices, cruelties, and threatenings which may be used to prevent it. Terror creates no alarm in the hearts of freemen. We are determined to maintain the Constitution "As it is;" viewing slavery as the mere creature of state power, and sustaining that power, if needs be; but we will not permit its existence amongst ourselves, or suffer for a moment, the liberty of speech or the press to be taken from us. It is an idle boast, that on the continuance of slavery, depends the existence of our Union—no man has either the physical, moral, or constitutional power to dissolve it; and if there be one sentiment of patriotism in the breast of the American people more predominant than another, it is, that the Union shall be preserved.

I am reminded of the field of Raisin and Fort Meigs, and am also reminded who rushed to the rescue, against an enemy who had invaded our shores. Sir, no man can have a higher opinion of the valor and patriotism of Kentuckians than I have; but I do not know a single individual in that state whom I do not respect, and we are asked to give up our principles as a martyr of comedy for the favors we have received. This is strange indeed! When the Kentuckians themselves reject one of their most eminent citizens when called by the American people

to fill the second place in their gift, and who in the same way, near, or on the banks of the Thames, had poured out his blood like water in defence of his country, and more particularly for our security. No, Sir, so far as I was concerned, Ohio was not ungrateful, at least in this particular, and Kentucky only did what every other people ought to do, prefer principles to private friendship.

The presence of private affairs has prevented until now, any notice of the publication in the Mayville Eagle, and even now the few broken ideas thrown upon paper, is done under great disadvantage and much haste. They contain, however, substantially the convictions of my mind, the exercise of my best judgment. I deplore as much as any man, the existence of slavery in our country, and the agitation of the question, but I am not disposed to submit to the dictation of slaveholding power, or to abridge the freedom of speech or the press, or the right of petition, as constitutionally secured to the citizens of this country; and if the slaveholding power, by attempting to do so, shall dig its own grave, and inhumane its own victims, it will not be the fault of the free states. It may be true that the citizens of the slave states are "sitting on barrels of gunpowder," we would fain, without giving offence, point them to the danger, and respectfully ask its removal; if it should explode we have done our duty. In the conversation I do not recollect of hearing the name of Judge Reid mentioned. It was not the Judge who made the decision that engaged my attention, it was the principles and the laws which seemed to govern the case; and if we are not at liberty to discuss the question of slavery in Ohio, because it is tolerated by the laws of Kentucky, and may agitate the citizens of that state, I would be glad to know how it comes, that the liberty of speech and the press in our state (which is far more dear to our citizens than property of any kind,) can with impunity, and without complaint on our part, be condemned by a Citizen of Kentucky, as well as the public press of that state.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest regard,
THOMAS MORRIS.

HON. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

P. S. I have said in this letter that the act of Congress of February 12, 1793, so far as it respected the arrest and removal of persons who are claimed as held to labor in another state was unconstitutional, it is proper I should suggest a single reason, or two for such opinion. The act takes away or denies the trial by jury in one of the most important cases that can affect a human being. The fact whether he is held to labor for another in any State, and has escaped therefrom, is the important question—a question which pertains so far of a criminal character as to bring its decision within the sixth article of the amendment to the constitution of the United States, while the constitution of our State declares "that the right of trial by jury shall be inviolated," and this act of Congress interferes with the right of the State to prescribe the manner and proof, by which a person within the jurisdiction of a State shall be claimed and removed as held to service by the laws of another, is in derogation of the sovereignty and independence of the State; indeed the constitution of the United States which in this particular the States are bound to carry into effect, is a deep and festering wound on the rights of the States. I have concluded to send this letter directly to the Press. T. M.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NEW BOOKS.

Just received and for sale at the Ohio A. S. Depository
N. W. Corner of Main and Sixth Streets, Cincinnati.
The Law of SLAVERY \$5 00
Narrative of CHARLES BALL who was a slave 40 yrs. 1 25
The Slave, or Memoirs of ARCHY MOORE, 2 vols. 1 25
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The Poetical works of ELIZABETH M. CHANDLER 56
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Thompson's Debate 50
Channing on Slavery 50
Bourne's Picture of Slavery 50
Bourne's Inquiry 37
Mrs. Child's Appeal 37
LIBERTY 37
Poems by J. G. WHITTIER 37
Bible argument, by THEODORE D. WELD 31
Anti-Slavery Record, bound 31
The Negro Pew 31
Testimony of God against Slavery 25
Rankin's Letters on Slavery 25
Right and Wrong in Boston, 2d vol. 25
Slave's Friend, bound 1st & 2d vol. 25
The Fountain, Gilt 19
Plain Talk 19
Trial of Reuben Crandall 25
Fourth Annual Report of American A. S. S. 25
Report of N. York Committee of Vigilance 25
Quarterly A. S. Magazine 25

ALSO,
THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC
for 1838,—\$4 00 per 100—50cts. per doz. 6cts. single.
October 27, 1837.

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M. R. ROBINSON, is hereby authorized to act as Agent for the Philanthropist, and collect Pledges, and Donations for the Ohio A. S. Society.

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CONSUMPTION.

It is calculated from the bills of mortality, that every fifth person dies of Consumption. The victims to this disease are principally those under 35 years of age, comprising the flower and strength of our country. One of the best remedies ever yet discovered to arrest this fearful malady at the very threshold, is the justly celebrated Indian cure for Coughs, Consumption, Spitting of Blood and Asthma—the "WATASIA."

Annexed are some of the many recommendations that might be given from individuals well known, and highly respected in extensive portions of our country. The following is from Rev. J. Spaulding, Secretary of the Western Education Society.
"Mr. Peck,—Dear Sir,—In reply to your question, 'Has the Watasia been of any service?' I am happy to say it has succeeded in my family admirably. The case was one of severe Cough, attended with pain in the side and breast, and threatening to end in Consumption. On using the above Medicine, the cough and pain have disappeared, and health has been restored."
To my friends, I do not hesitate to say—
J. SPAULDING.
Cincinnati, Dec. 5, 1836.

For Sale at the Apothecaries' Hall, Cincinnati, Main street, one door above Fifth. 80—12

STEAM SCOURING AND CLOTHES-DRESSING EMPORIUM.

The subscriber continues to carry on the Steam Scouring business, at his old stand on Walnut street, between 3rd and 4th, and respectfully returns his thanks to the citizens of Cincinnati and vicinity, for their former patronage, and hopes by strict attention to the business to merit a continuance of their favors. His mode of renovating is upon the most approved plan. He assures the public that he will extract all kinds of Grease, Pitch, Tar, Paint, Oil, &c., and restore the cloth to its former appearance without injury, by means of a composition that he uses expressly for that purpose.—Coat collars cleaned without altering their shape, and lost collars restored.

Ladies habits, table-cloths and garments of all descriptions, done at the shortest notice, and in the best possible style.—This he promises to perform or no pay.
CHARLES SATCHEL.
Cincinnati, July 26, 1837. 80—12

N. B. Gentlemen's cast-off clothing bought.

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TRUMAN & SMITH, Publishers, Bookellers and Stationers, No. 150 Main, between Fourth and Fifth streets, Cincinnati. Have a constant supply of Books in every department of Literature and Science, at reduced prices. Country Merchants, and all others wanting BOOKS AND STATIONARY, at wholesale and retail, are invited to call before purchasing elsewhere.

School Books, in any variety and quantity, at Eastern prices. Bibles of different kinds, from large quarto to 32 mo, plain, and elegant. All the Biblical commentaries, in common use, also a common variety of Hymn Books. Miscellaneous Works, consisting of Travels, Histories, Biographies, Memoirs.

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FARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE.

A desirable Farm, of 320 acres, situated 8 miles from town, upon both sides of a M'Adamized road, having about one half in cultivation, the rest well timbered; also a large brick house, 40 by 50 feet, with ten rooms, a hall and a cellar; a commodious barn, 45 by 60 feet, an extensive stable, a milk-house, corn cribs and other buildings, all frame; likewise a large orchard, a frame house covering a cider-press, two hewed log houses, many springs, and a well. The land is good, especially situated for cultivation, and well calculated for a country seat.
A Farm of 160 acres, situated 9 miles from town, upon a M'Adamized road, having 60 acres in cultivation, a small orchard, log buildings and several springs. The soil is fair quality, and abounds in ash, beach, oak and sugar-maple timber.
A fertile Farm of 400 acres, situated 17 miles from town, upon the Ohio, having log buildings, many springs, and 140 acres in cultivation. The tract consists of 140 acres of rich bottom, the rest upland, eligibly located for culture.
A Farm of 96 acres, situated 3 miles from town, near a turnpike road, with 30 acres improved, the rest well timbered; a well, many springs, a stable, a frame house with four rooms and a kitchen. The land is good and rolling. It will be sold low for cash.

A desirable Country Seat, situated one mile from town, having a commanding view of the city. There are 250 acres of land, 100 of which are in cultivation, the rest well wooded; a substantial stone house, 40 by 36 feet, with 8 rooms a hall and cellar; also, an old frame house, a good frame barn, 25 by 30 feet, several log buildings, two good wells, many springs, a creek, two orchards, with 200 apple, pear, peach and plum trees, and many grape vines. The house is surrounded with locust trees and shrub of various kinds. The land is good and rolling. It can be divided to suit purchasers.

A fertile Farm of 32 acres, situated upon a M'Adamized road, 4 miles from town, with 15 acres in cultivation, a small orchard, several springs, a frame barn, and a log house with two rooms.
A good Farm of 100 acres, situated 5 miles from town, upon a turnpike road, with 70 acres in cultivation, an orchard of 400 grafted apple trees, also a small orchard of choice pear trees; a frame house with five rooms, a commodious frame barn, a cow-stable, a house covering a cider mill and press, and many springs. This farm can be sold in several tracts.

A Farm of 60 acres, situated 10 miles from town, upon a turnpike road, having 30 acres in cultivation, a brick house with 3 rooms and a cellar, an orchard of apple, peach and cherry trees, a well and many springs. The land is a fair quality and lies generally well for tillage.

Five acres of land 6 miles from town, near a M'Adamized road, having a house with two rooms and a porch, a spring, 300 grape vines, 80 to 80 apple, pear, peach and plum trees of choice kinds.
An excellent farm of 198 acres, 13 miles from town, having 120 acres in a high state of cultivation; two good orchards of apple, pear, peach and English cherry trees; a large new frame barn, a good cider house, with a mill and a press, a wagon house, a corn crib, grain, smoke and carriage houses, hog pens, a new milk house with several rooms, an excellent frame house with seven rooms, a cellar and a porch; also, a first rate culinary garden, and many springs. The land is very rich and well situated for cultivation.

A fertile farm of 136 acres, 8 miles from town, with 70 acres in culture, the rest well timbered with Walnut, Blue Ash, Sugar and Locust trees. The improvements consist of a frame house, with four rooms, a cellar, and a porch; a frame barn, two stables, a well, and a good orchard of choice fruit trees. The land is rich, rolling, well fenced and watered with springs.

A Farm of 62 acres, 10 miles from town, upon the Winton road, having 38 acres in cultivation, a small orchard, a well, several springs, a Frame Barn, and a Brick House, with 4 rooms and a cellar.

Very many other FARMS and COUNTRY SEATS for sale. Also, several small tracts without buildings, a few miles from the city.

Eligible HOUSES in various parts of the City, for sale. Citizens and Emigrants are invited to call for full information, which will be given gratis. If by letter, postage paid. Capitalists can obtain 10 per cent. interest upon mortgage, on the best personal security at long periods, or 6 per cent. at 10 days sight.

Persons desirous of receiving money from England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and other parts of Europe, can have the cash paid them in Cincinnati, as soon as the payment is advised by the European Bankers.

English and Eastern Bills of Exchange, Gold, and Bank of England notes bought and sold.

Farmers and Citizens wishing to dispose of their estates will incur no expense unless sales be effected.

The views of poor Emigrants promoted without cost.

Apply to THOMAS EMERY, Estate and Money Agent, Fourth st., East of Main, Cincinnati, O.